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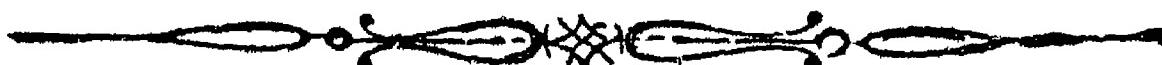
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[18th Year  
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Recording the Nation's Activities each year in matters Political,  
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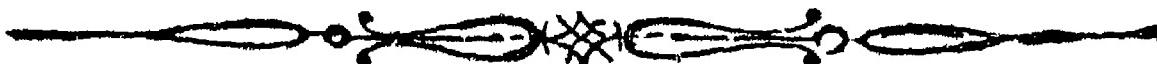
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**2nd.** *Death of Mr. Abhyankar* :—Mr. M. V. Abhyankar, Bar-at-Law, Central Provinces Congress leader, passed away in Bombay.

**7th.** *National Institute of Sciences of India* :—H. E. the Governor of Bengal inaugurated the first session of the National Institute of Sciences of India in Calcutta. The purpose of the Institute was to co-ordinate the work of Academies of Sciences in the various parts of India. The main functions of the Institute would be the co-ordination of the labours of the scientists in India, to effect co-operation between the various bodies of Academy rank and to render possible the formation of a National Research Council.

**12th.** *South Arcot Women's Conference* :—Equal rights for women and men in the future constitution, establishment of more schools for girls and that women should take part in rural reconstruction formed the subjects of some of the resolutions passed by the South Arcot Women's Conference, held at Villupuram, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi presiding.

**13th.** *Death of Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy* :—Sir Abdulla Suhrawardy passed away at his residence in Calcutta, after a brief illness. He was one of the oldest members at the Central Legislature and was the founder of the Central Muslim Party in the Assembly. He was the Deputy President of the Bengal Legislative Council from 1923 to 1926. Prominent in public life, he was also the author of some publications relating to Muslim history and religion.

*Death of Mr. B. Muniswami Naidu* :—Diwan Bahadur B. Muniswami Naidu, former Chief Minister to the Madras Government, passed away at his residence at Chittoor. His funeral was attended by many prominent public men and tributes were paid to his services to the Province.

**14th.** *Acharya Gidwani's death* :—Acharya Gidwani, ex-Principal of the Gujarat Vidyapith and who, till recently, had been closely associated with the Congress, died of heart-failure at Karachi. His funeral was largely attended and the local markets and the Municipal offices were closed in memory of the departed leader.

**15th.** *Burma Separationists' dissatisfaction* :—The All-Burma Separationists' Conference held at Rangoon, expressed its dissatisfaction with the J. P. C. proposals inasmuch as they did not fulfil the people's aspirations. The Conference also demanded protection for the indigenous population from outside competition, and also the restoration of Assam, Manipur, Andaman and Nicobar Islands to separated Burma.

*Madras Christian Deputation to the Governor* :—A deputation on behalf of the Madras Indian Christian Association waited on the Governor and represented to His Excellency the grievances of the community. The deputationists urged that the goal of India, Dominion status, should be included in the preamble of the new Reform Bill. They stated that they were opposed to a Second Chamber in the province, and urged direct election to the Federal Legislature.

**16th.** *Madras Provincial Labour Conference* :—The Madras Provincial Labour Conference met at Golden Rock. Mr. C. Basudev, declaring the conference open, regretted that the Reforms Report had omitted the question of declaration of fundamental rights. He opposed indirect election to the Federal legislature as retrograde and urged direct election on a much enlarged basis. The president, Mr. S. Natesa Mudaliar, urged that safeguards should be provided for the benefit of labour. The conference passed resolutions urging that at least 10 per cent of the total number of seats allotted in the various councils should be reserved for labour, periodical enlargement of franchise so as to achieve adult franchise within a definite period and the provision of a declaration of rights in the new constitution.

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**30th. Assembly rejects Indo-British Trade Agreement** :—The Assembly debated the Indo-British Trade Agreement and urged its immediate termination. Mr. H. P. Mody defended the agreement and said that there was no sacrifice of India's fiscal autonomy, nor impairment of discriminating protection. Mr. Jinnah opposed the Agreement. Mr. Joshi urged the Government to consult labour opinion before negotiating trade agreements. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai said that the agreement did not confer any concessions on India but she lost a great deal. Sir Joseph Bhore, replying to the debate, claimed that the agreement did not adversely affect any Indian industry. He added that it helped in the cause of goodwill and friendliness between India and England. The amendment of Mr. K. L. Gauba urging the Government to terminate the agreement was carried by 66 against 58 votes.

**31st. Mr. Bose's detention** :—At a public meeting in Calcutta resolution was passed protesting against the continued detention of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and demanding his unconditional release.

## FEBRUARY 1935

**1st. International Labour office resolution regarding railway workers** :—The Governing Body of the International Labour Office passed the following resolution concerning the Railway workers in India. Having regard to the considerable time that has elapsed since the ratification of the 1919 Convention (dealing with workers on railways) by the Government of India in 1921, the Governing Body notes the Government of India's undertaking to press forward their programme of gradual extension with the least possible delay and hopes that, as a result of this undertaking, the effects of the Convention will be extended at an early date to such workers of the Indian railways as do not yet enjoy them."

**Government of India Bill** :—The Indian re-print of the Government of India Bill was published and runs into 323 pages.

**2nd. Bombay Indian Merchants' Chamber** :—The Reserve Bank, the Indian Tariff system and other questions of interest to the commercial community were discussed by the incoming president of the Indian Merchants' Chamber at their annual general meeting in Bombay.

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**11th. Bengal Governor on Terrorism** :—His Excellency Sir John Anderson, opening the Bengal Legislative Council's budget session, uttered a warning that the Government's control of the terrorist menace must not be relaxed.

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The memorandum suggested that the protection of the rights and privileges of the landholders in respect of land should be the special responsibility of the Governor-General. It was decided to send a deputation to England with a view to get the Government of India Bill amended on the lines suggested in the memorandum.

**25th.** A resolution urging a substantial reduction in the number of British soldiers in India was defeated by 26 votes to 15 in the Council of State.

By 81 votes to 44 the Legislative Assembly adopted the motion of Mr. M. S. Aney for a token "cut" of Rs. 100 in the Railway demand to censure the Government for the slow pace of Indianization.

*Princes and the Reforms Scheme :* At the meeting of the Princes and their Ministers held in Bombay it was resolved that before the India Bill could be considered as acceptable to the States it should be amended in certain essential respects. The decision of the Conference has been conveyed to the Secretary of State for India through the Viceroy.

**26th. Sir S. Hoare's Promise to Princes :—**The House of Commons this night rejected by 283 votes to 89 Mr. Winston Churchill's motion to adjourn the India Bill debate on the clauses with a view to raising the question of the "momentous rejection by the Princes of the Government's scheme for Federation." Mr. Churchill declared : "The Federal scheme is dead. The Government have now the chance to revert to the broad proposals of the Simon Commission, which though they constitute a very hazardous experiment do not contain the perils of the Federal plan. Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary for India, said that despite their Bombay resolution he had no reason to suppose that the Princes had altered their conception of what the All-India Federation should be. He maintained that there was no irreconcilable difference between the Government and the Princes. He undertook that the Government would deal sympathetically with any clause in the Bill that might appear to the Princes to be dangerous in the future. Sir Austen Chamberlain contended that the Princes' conditions had been met and added, "Let it be understood that we are not willing to be driven from what the House thinks right or enter a Dutch auction for the support of the Princes."

**27th. Sir Samuel Hoare's denial :—**When the Committee Stage of the Government of India Bill was resumed in the House of Commons Sir Samuel Hoare referred to "certain fantastic paragraphs" in some newspapers. Sir Samuel denied that he had telephoned to the Maharaja of Patiala, that he had spent sleepless nights making up a recantation of the Federal scheme and that he had invited the Princes to come to England at a moment's notice to discuss the amendments which the House was at present considering. The Secretary of State emphasized that the accession of the Princes would not be based on a kind of limited liability system and, before pledging itself to Federation, the House of Commons would be in a position to judge whether accession would be effective or not. The question of interference in a State by the Federal Legislature was dealt with at length and in reply to a Labourite's query it was stated that the Legislature could discuss inefficient administration. An amendment providing that States subjects become His Majesty's subjects from the proclamation of the Federation was withdrawn after a brief discussion.

**28th. Mr. Churchill Condemns Dyarchy : Sir Samuel Hoare and test of Indianization :—**The House of Commons sat until after midnight in order to expedite progress on the India Bill, following Mr. Baldwin's explanation that they were behind the agreed programme. Mr. Winston Churchill again figured prominently in the debate and in opposing Clause 9, said that he and his associates were bound to vote against it because it embodied the principle of dyarchy, which ran as a hideous blemish throughout the bill. "Let the House realise quite clearly," said Mr. Churchill, "that they are introducing dyarchy at the Centre on the sole pretext that the Princes wish to come in, which is untrue." Sir Samuel Hoare criticised Mr. Churchill and his friends as favouring the worst form of dyarchy at the Centre, namely, a complete gulf between the Executive and the Legislature and supporting a system of Provincial administration in which law and order would be divorced from responsible Government.

The memorandum suggested that the protection of the rights and privileges of the landholders in respect of land should be the special responsibility of the Governor-General. It was decided to send a deputation to England with a view to get the Government of India Bill amended on the lines suggested in the memorandum.

**25th.** A resolution urging a substantial reduction in the number of British soldiers in India was defeated by 26 votes to 15 in the Council of State.

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clamation would cease to operate unless within each successive period of six months after it was approved by both Houses, its continuance was approved by both Houses. Without such provision, said Mr. Davies, the Governor-General would have the powers of Lenin or Musolini. Sir Samuel Hoare agreed that the emergency should not be permanent and discussed whether it would not be wise to declare, after a period of three years, that the whole Constitution would lapse—a point which was immediately seized upon by the Opposition. Col. J. Wedgwood inquired if it meant that Federation would lapse and Provincial Constitutions remain, while Mr. Churchill suggested, amidst laughter, that a breakdown should be arranged now. In a subsequent statement, Sir Samuel Hoare explained his meaning "Supposing the Constitution did lapse," he said, "we should not be left with no Government in India but would revert to the provisions of the Act and Parliament would have to choose between reverting to the provisions of the Act or passing an amending Act." The proposed discretionary powers for the Governor-General in prohibiting discussion in the Federal Legislature, of matters connected with Indian States was also dealt with.

**14th.** A debate took place in the Bengal Legislative Council on a proposition by a Moslem member that tenants should have the right to build mosques on their holdings.

The motion of no-confidence in the Ministry was defeated in the Madras Legislative Council by 80 votes to 42.

**16th.** The Sikh National Conference was held at Amritsar under the presidentship of Sardar Kharak Singh. The president did not favour the idea of sending deputations to England to protest against the Communal Award but suggested the launching of a campaign against the Award. Pandit Malaviya, who attended the Conference, opposed the idea of a campaign and said that a deputation to England was necessary. He also appealed for communal unity.

**18th.** A White Paper containing Sir Samuel Hoare's reply to the Princes' objections to the India Bill was issued.

The National Sikh Conference at Amritsar passed a resolution attacking the Communal Award and threatening to place obstacles in the Working of the reforms.

**19th.** *Military fire on Mob in Karachi* :—About 40 persons were killed and a hundred injured as the result of firing by the military on a Muslim mob in Karachi. This was a sequel to the execution of Abdul Qayum who was sentenced to death on a charge of murder in open court of a Hindu, Maharaj Nathuram. After execution the body was sent to the cemetery outside the city where it was buried with due rites. A large crowd of Muslims gathered and the body was removed from the grave and carried to the city. The crowd was intercepted by the police on the outskirts of the city but the police were soon overwhelmed. Just then the military arrived. The crowd was ordered to disperse, but the mob became defiant and unruly whereupon the military fired on the mob, resulting in the casualties mentioned above. The Legislative Assembly carried the motion of Mr. K. L. Gauba censuring the Government regarding the Karachi firing.

**20th.** *Princes' Objections to Federation* :—“When the Bill is passed the Princes will have to decide. If they accede, there will be a Federation ; if they do not accede, there will not be a Federation.” This statement was made by Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, resisting a motion in the House of Commons to adjourn the discussion of the India Bill on the ground that no useful purpose would be served by its continuance, in view of the altered situation as a result of the publication of the Princes' views. The mover, Lord Hartington, suggested that the Princes' objections were raised for the purpose of being fatal to Federation and, if these were met, others would be raised until the attempt to draw the Princes into the Federation was abandoned. Sir Samuel claimed that the White Paper confirmed that the Princes had not withdrawn from the Federation. Of the 30 points raised, all could be easily adjusted with the exception of two—the method of the Princes' accession and the general question of Paramountcy.

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**30th. Indian Chamber's criticism of India Bill** :—The annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce was held at New Delhi under the presidentship of Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai. After the president's address and the adoption of the annual report, a resolution was moved by the Chairman, disapproving of the India Bill as it outlined a constitution which did not conform to the promises and pledges made to India, which was adopted. The second resolution protested against the decision of His Majesty's Government to specifically lay down the constitution of the Federal Railway authority in the India Bill, and particularly condemned the proposals which made the Federal Government and Ministers helpless in regard to railway administration inasmuch as all important powers had been vested in the Governor-General. Another resolution characterised the safeguards in the new constitution as unduly rigid and provisions against discrimination of such a sweeping character as were likely to cause abuse of power to the serious detriment of the country's industrial and commercial development.

## APRIL—1935

**1st. Control of Indian Railways : Sir Samuel Hoare and Princes' "Misunderstanding"** :—Several amendments affecting the control of Indian railways after the proposed reforms have been put into operation were defeated in the House of Commons. The only one that was approved—moved by Sir Samuel Hoare (Secretary of State for India)—made the Federal Government responsible for safety on the railways. Sir Samuel said that in due course he would propose the insertion of a clause to deal with disputes, whether on railways owned by Princes or by British India. Sir Henry Page Croft urged the necessity of ensuring that the railway administration did not fall under political, communal or caste influences. Sir Samuel opposed an amendment ensuring that, as far as was reasonable, material for the railways would be produced within the Empire. Such a provision, he thought, would injure British trade, excite Indian suspicion and make the Railway Board much less likely to place orders with Britain.

**2nd. High Court Powers under Reforms : Important Amendment Accepted by Government** :—Two important amendments were accepted by the Government when the House of Commons resumed consideration of the India Bill. One empowers a High Court to direct the transfer of any suit or appeal from a Court subject to its appellate jurisdiction to any other Court of equal or superior status. The other amendment dealt with the Secretary of State's powers in connexion with the Indian army. The question whether the English law of champerty should be extended to India was also debated on an amendment—which was negatived—for the summary determination of any appeal of a champertous nature. The mover, Mr. Linton Thorp, pointed out that a champertous agreement (assisting a party in a suit in which one is not naturally interested, with a view to receiving a share of the disputed property) constituted a criminal offence in England. The Solicitor-General claimed that a champertous agreement might possibly be made in a case of the utmost importance with which it was most desirable that the Court should deal.

**3rd. The Legislative Assembly carried Professor Ranga's amendment to the Finance Bill reducing the postal rates on letters.**

**4th. Anglo-Indians on Railways : High Tributes paid to Community** :—The declaration that the Government were telling Anglo-Indians that they must remain in the pit into which they had sunk but need not fall deeper, was made by Mr. Winston Churchill during consideration of the India Bill in the House of Commons. Mr. Churchill was speaking on an amendment moved by Sir Reginald Craddack

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**10th. Bengal I. C. S. and the India Bill:**—The Memorial of the I. C. S. (Bengal) Association was discussed in the House of Commons during a series of questions put to Sir Samuel Hoare (Secretary of State for India), and, again, in the course of an address to members of both Houses by Mr. J. C. French, a former Bengal I. C. S. official and the London representative of the Association. Sir Samuel Hoare declared that the points in the Memorial of the Association, dated January 22, had been discussed both with representatives of the I. C. S. Association and in the House of Commons debate on Service safeguards. Asked by Winston Churchill whether he was not anxious to get beneath the formal presentment of the views of a disciplined Service and have some realization of the actual feelings and opinions in the Service as expressed in a confidential memorandum. Sir Samuel Hoare replied that he declined to recognize any unauthorized document. He added that Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, had telegraphed regarding the resentment felt by members of the I. C. S. at the publication of confidential papers, and their intention to counter false impressions in Britain as to their political views.

An adjournment motion to discuss the Government's refusal to hold a public inquiry into the Karachi shooting affair was talked out in the Council of State.

The need for amendment of the Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act was stressed at the annual meeting in Calcutta of the All-Bengal Women's Union.

**12th. Communal riot at Hazaribagh:**—Six Hindus, including a Sub-Inspector of Police, were injured in the course of a communal riot at Hazaribagh on the occasion of Ramanavami. The Hindus took out a procession and the Muslims objected to it on the ground that they have to take out their Mohurram procession. The local authorities directed that the Mohurram procession should not start until the evening by which time the Hindu procession would have ended. The Muslims were not satisfied and rioting started in which brickbats and lathis were freely used.

**The Punjab Political Conference:**—Addressing the twentieth Punjab Political Conference held at Lahore Mrs. Sarojini Naidu deplored the apathy of the Punjab in the matter of national work and exhorted the youth of the province to "regain" their life and infuse that life in the villages for which the way had been shown by Mr. Gandhi. The conference passed resolutions congratulating the Congress Party in the Assembly on recording a number of defeats on the Government and calling on all Congress workers to carry out the constructive programme of the Congress. The conference rejected the Government's reform proposals and characterised the Communal Award as wholly unsatisfactory. The conference was of opinion that the leaders of the various communities should take immediate steps to find an equitable and adequate substitute.

**14th. Hindu-Muslim riot at Firozabad:**—A Hindu-Muslim riot occurred at Firozabad, Agra district. It was stated that while a Mahomedan *buraq* procession was proceeding along the main bazaar, bricks were thrown from the roofs. This seemed to have enraged the processionists who commenced rioting in a side lane. They set fire to the house of Dr. Jivaram and to the adjacent temple of Radha-krishna. The inmates of Dr. Jivaram's house perished in the fire. The police, who arrived on the spot soon after, asked the rioters to disperse who refused to do so.

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**29th. Reforms Bill Debate : Safeguarding Indian Civil Servants** :—The House of Commons, resuming the Committee stage of the India Bill after the Easter recess, passed Sir Samuel Hoare's clause dealing with the protection of public servants against frivolous and vexatious prosecutions. An amendment to the clause, requiring the previous sanction of the Governor-General in the case of the Federation and of a Governor in the case of a province for the introduction of a Bill or amendment to abolish or restrict the protection afforded to public servants was lost. Sir Donald Somervell, the Solicitor-General, who moved the clause in the absence of Sir Samuel Hoare who was convalescing after his recent illness, said that it was not in the best interests of the Service to introduce such a provision or to go beyond what was provided by the clause. He said that in all proper cases the Government's purse would be at the disposal of an officer who was the defendant in a case, while those who brought frivolous and vexatious cases would be mulcted in costs.

**30th. Tariff Problems of Indian Federation** :—The House of Commons, resuming discussion on the India Bill rejected by 221 votes to 52 the clause moved by Mr. Linton Thorp, Conservative member for Nelson and Colne, suggesting the setting up of an Indian Tariff Advisory Board. Lord Eustace Percy was of the opinion that the clause would destroy any safeguard proposed in the Select Committee Report and would land Lancashire in hopeless litigation in which they would always be beaten. Mr. Morgan Jones asserted that the board would be futile against boycott and that there was the likelihood of tariff questions being forced to the centre of party politics. Sir Thomas Inskip, the Attorney General, winding up the debate on the clause, held that such a board would be faced with the question of how to balancing India's budget. The Attorney-General added that if there were means of devising an impartial tribunal which would fairly hold the scales between the two interests —India and Lancashire—the Government would gladly consider such a proposal.

## MAY 1935

**1st. 31 Sentenced for Conspiracy : Widespread Plot for Armed Rising in India & Burma** :—After a trial lasting nearly two years, during which 500 witnesses were examined, 31 men were convicted by a Special Tribunal at Alipur, Calcutta on a charge of conspiracy to wage war against the King-Emperor. Six men were sentenced to transportation for life, three to ten years' rigorous imprisonment and nine to seven years' rigorous imprisonment and the remainder to terms varying from six years to one year's imprisonment. Four men were acquitted but two of them were immediately rearrested under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Two approvers were pardoned. The conspiracy was described as one to promote a simultaneous armed rising throughout India and Burma, to facilitate which men were recruited and arms and explosives procured, funds being obtained through widespread dacoities, robberies and murders. The revolutionaries' proposals included the use of gas in an attempt to rescue some of their imprisoned comrades, attacks on arsenals and military outposts, and the use of poisoned weapons.

**6th. Jubilee Celebrations of H. M. the King** :—India celebrated the Silver Jubilee in a fitting manner. Thanksgiving services and prayers in temples and mosques, military reviews, illuminations, bonfires and free entertainments were among the numerous forms of festivity. H. E. the Viceroy broadcast India's greetings and also his message to India.

**8th. Reforms Bill Debate : No "Divide & Rule" Policy for India** :—Discussion of the question of communal representation in the new Indian Legislatures occupied

success of the struggle for the independence, which was the first concerted movement for freedom since the advent of British rule. Mr. Desai also paid a tribute to the Congress party in the Assembly, which although a minority in the House had, by its sincerity and earnestness, impressed every one both within and outside the Legislature.

**29th. Reforms Bill Debate : Safeguarding Indian Civil Servants** :—The House of Commons, resuming the Committee stage of the India Bill after the Easter recess, passed Sir Samuel Hoare's clause dealing with the protection of public servants against frivolous and vexatious prosecutions. An amendment to the clause, requiring the previous sanction of the Governor-General in the case of the Federation and of a Governor in the case of a province for the introduction of a Bill or amendment to abolish or restrict the protection afforded to public servants was lost. Sir Donald Somervell, the Solicitor-General, who moved the clause in the absence of Sir Samuel Hoare who was convalescing after his recent illness, said that it was not in the best interests of the Service to introduce such a provision or to go beyond what was provided by the clause. He said that in all proper cases the Government's purse would be at the disposal of an officer who was the defendant in a case, while those who brought frivolous and vexatious cases would be mulcted in costs.

**30th. Tariff Problems of Indian Federation** :—The House of Commons, resuming discussion on the India Bill rejected by 221 votes to 52 the clause moved by Mr. Linton Thorp, Conservative member for Nelson and Colne, suggesting the setting up of an Indian Tariff Advisory Board. Lord Eustace Percy was of the opinion that the clause would destroy any safeguard proposed in the Select Committee Report and would land Lancashire in hopeless litigation in which they would always be beaten. Mr. Morgan Jones asserted that the board would be futile against boycott and that there was the likelihood of tariff questions being forced to the centre of party politics. Sir Thomas Inskip, the Attorney General, winding up the debate on the clause, held that such a board would be faced with the question of how to balancing India's budget. The Attorney-General added that if there were means of devising an impartial tribunal which would fairly hold the scales between the two interests—India and Lancashire—the Government would gladly consider such a proposal.

## MAY 1935

**1st. 31 Sentenced for Conspiracy : Widespread Plot for Armed Rising in India & Burma** :—After a trial lasting nearly two years, during which 500 witnesses were examined, 31 men were convicted by a Special Tribunal at Alipur, Calcutta on a charge of conspiracy to wage war against the King-Emperor. Six men were sentenced to transportation for life, three to ten years' rigorous imprisonment and nine to seven years' rigorous imprisonment and the remainder to terms varying from six years to one year's imprisonment. Four men were acquitted but two of them were immediately rearrested under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Two approvers were pardoned. The conspiracy was described as one to promote a simultaneous armed rising throughout India and Burma, to facilitate which men were recruited and arms and explosives procured, funds being obtained through widespread dacoities, robberies and murders. The revolutionaries' proposals included the use of gas in an attempt to rescue some of their imprisoned comrades, attacks on arsenals and military outposts, and the use of poisoned weapons.

**6th. Jubilee Celebrations of H. M. the King** :—India celebrated the Silver Jubilee in a fitting manner. Thanksgiving services and prayers in temples and mosques, military reviews, illuminations, bonfires and free entertainments were among the numerous forms of festivity. H. E. the Viceroy broadcast India's greetings and also his message to India.

**8th. Reforms Bill Debate : No "Divide & Rule" Policy for India** :—Discussion of the question of communal representation in the new Indian Legislatures occupied

**14th. India Bill Debate : Indebtedness of Indian Ryots** :—Concern for the heavily indebted Indian agriculturist was expressed by several members when the House of Commons resumed consideration of the committee stage of the India Bill. Describing moneylending in India as one of the most serious problems of the country, Sir Henry Page Croft emphasized that decision in regard to it should be taken only after careful deliberation and with the consent of the Central authority. The speaker drew the attention of the House to the danger of peasants being driven to desperation and declared that last year, in the Punjab alone, 13 moneylenders were murdered by peasant debtors. He admitted that the money-lender might be a necessary evil under existing circumstances, but deplored the fact that calamitous interest was charged in many cases and that those agriculturists who were drawn into his "net" were rarely able to escape. Mr. R. A. Butler, while agreeing that steps were necessary to eradicate the evil, regretted that it was impossible to apply one uniform law throughout India. Sir Henry Page Croft's proposal was defeated by 280 votes to 32.

**15th. Franchise Plan for India : Commons Adopts Sir S. Hoare's Schedule** :—With the adoption of Sir Samuel Hoare's 36-page Franchise Schedule, the House of Commons completed consideration of the Committee Stage of the Bill. The electoral qualifications for Madras Presidency were taken up first and Mr. Seymour Cocks moved an amendment to include "receipt of wages in cash or kind" among the property qualifications, but this was defeated by 285 votes to 35. Mr. R. C. Attlee moved an amendment recommending that 120 days' residence should be the sole qualification for the Madras City constituencies. The amendment was rejected by 272 votes to 34. Miss Eleanor Rathbones' proposal for a new condition that the wife of a literate man should be enfranchised and Mr. Seymour Cock's proposal that the stipulation that women should apply for inclusion in the register be eliminated were both lost by heavy majorities. After completion of the provincial schedules, the entire Franchise Schedule, along with the Burma Schedule, was adopted and a motion that the Bill as amended be reported to the House was carried.

**17th. Bengal's War on Terrorism : Further Prohibitory Measure by Government** :—A further important step in the fight against the terrorism menace, was taken by the Government of Bengal. In a *communiqué* the Government prohibited the publication of any news relating to Detenu Day" (Sunday) and allied subjects. It was pointed out that, though the situation in regard to terrorism had improved, the public should realize that this improvement only kept up by the utmost vigilance on the part of those charged with the duty of maintaining public security, and that there had been numerous sharp reminders of the danger with which the situation was fraught, should that vigilance be relaxed. What was described as "the very welcome change in the public's attitude to this dangerous conspiracy," commented upon but, at the same time, attention was drawn to possibly misplaced sympathy for humanitarian motives. The Government also stated that the detenus had only been detained because their connexion with the terrorist movement had been definitely established. "It would be a disaster" added the *communiqué*, "were the Government to permit the efforts of the last five years to be thrown away by failure to do, what they were satisfied, was their clear duty at the present juncture."

**23rd. Indian Federation's Finances : Proposal for Appointment of Commission rejected** :—Finance questions figured largely in the discussion in the House of Commons when the Report Stage of the India Bill was begun. Sir Henry Page Croft proposed a new clause providing for the appointment of a Commission to report whether the financial position justified the establishment of a Federation. Nothing could be more disastrous to the whole scheme, he said, than a doubt whether all obligations would be fulfilled. Sir Samuel Hoare strongly resisted the proposal declaring that "they had quite enough of Statutory Commission's investigations and inquiries in the last seven years." Sir Samuel emphasized that the most formidable side of the finance problem was connected with the establishment of provincial autonomy, and the Government, he said, would set an inquiry in motion immediately the Bill was enacted. The clause was rejected. Another clause,

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## JUNE 1935

**1st.** The number of persons killed or wounded in the whole of the Quetta earthquake area is now unofficially estimated at 30,000. The British death-roll is reported to be about 200, but a Karachi message stated that some hundreds of British soldiers were dead and hundreds of others were injured, while many more were missing.

Two hundred persons were killed by the destruction of Quetta General Hospital ; 20 European and 100 Indian members of the North-Western Railway staff, with their families, died ; and it was believed that the entire Indian quarters of the city was razed, resulting in 20,000 deaths.

Owing to the Civil police force having been practically wiped out, martial law operated at Quetta to prevent looting. Additional police were being drafted from the Frontier province and elsewhere.

There was immense difficulty in delivering telegraphed messages to Quetta as it was impossible to find addresses. The postal authorities' difficulties increased by the absence of many members of the staff.

**5th.** *India Bill : Commons Passes Third Reading* :—With the defeat of the Labour amendment for the rejection of the India Bill in the House of Commons, the Bill passed the third reading and was sent to the House of Lords. Major James Milner said that the Labourites opposed the Bill because it not only did not fulfil Parliament's repeated pledges, but held out no hope of their early fulfilment. Mr. Churchill launched a vigorous attack against the Bill. He said the forces against the opponents of the measure were too strong and complained that their views had not received the slightest consideration from the Government. Mr. Churchill expressed astonishment that the Government obstinately pressed forward with the Bill when the domestic political situation was so uncertain and when Europe was drifting towards a catastrophe. He said that the Government could claim to have provided neither good government by consent. The constitution, he added, was not final.

**15th.** *Police Officer Murdered* :—The first terrorist crime since the attempt on the life of the Bengal Governor in May 1934 occurred in Faridpur District in the night when Sub-Inspector Syed Arsad Ali in charge of the Goalundo Police Station was murdered while working in his office by a terrorist suspect belonging to Chittagong, who was interned within the police station limit. Mr. Arsad Ali was practically decapitated and death was instantaneous. The alleged assassin was promptly arrested with a bloodstained dah.

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# Administration of India

Reigning Sovereign—George V. by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

## INDIA OFFICE

### Secretary of State

The Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, Kt.,  
G. C. B., G. C. S. I., G. M. G., M. P.

### Permanent Under-Secretary of State.

Sir Findlater Stewart, K. C. B., K. C. I. E.,  
C. S. I., LL. D.

### Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State.

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L. D. Wakely, C. B.

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Sir Cecil H. Kitch, K. C. I. E., C. B.  
S. K. Brown, C. B., C. V. O.

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Sir Campbell Rhodes, C. B. E.

Sir Henry Wheeler, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E.

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Sir Henry Strakosch, G. B. E.

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Sir Charles A. Tegart, C. S. I., C. I. E.,  
M. V. O.

Sir Atul C. Chatterjee, G. C. I. E., K. C. S. I.

Sir A. A. L. Parsons, K. C. I. E.

Sir Abdul Qadir.

The High Commissioner : [Sir Bhupendra  
Nath Mitra, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., C. B. E.]

### Government of India.

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His Excellency The Right Hon'ble Freeman-Tomas, Earl of Willindon, G. M. S. I., G. M. I. E., G. C. M. G. G. B. E.

### Executive Council

His Excellency General Sir Philip Walhouse Chetwode, Bart., G. C. B., K. C. M. G., D. S. O., A. D. C., Commander-in-Chief in India.

The Hon'ble Sir James Grigg, K. C. B. (Finance).

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The Hon'ble Sir Henry Craik, K. C. S. I., (Home).

The Hon'ble Sir Frank Noyce, Kt., C. S. I. C. B. E., I. C. S. (Industries and Labour.)

### Government of Bombay

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Capt. The Hon. Michael Herbert Knatchbull, M. C., 5th Baron Brabourne.

#### Members of Council and Ministers

The Hon. Khan Bahadur D. B. Cooper J. P., Finance and Revenue.; The Hon. Mr. R. D. Bell, C. I. E., I. C. S., J. P., Home and General (on leave); Mr. C. W. A. Turner (Offg.)

#### Ministers

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#### Ministers

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**NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY**

**AND**

**GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

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# Notes on Indian History

(With special Stress on The Hindu Period)

## "Scientific History"

It has truly been said that a history of India that reveals the whole panorama of the vast millennia of her distinctive life and civilisation in its actual shade and colour and due proportion and perspective, still remains to be written. The materials for drawing such a vast outline and making such a comprehensive and connected sketch are not yet in hand. A fairly definite outline and connected sketch which gives the promise of being some day developed into what is called "scientific history" has, however, been steadily emerging out of the mist that veils the immensity of India's past—a mist which (thanks to the labours of the investigators) has perceptibly thinned without being as yet actually lifted as far as one can now make one's incursion into the age that saw the birth of Buddhism and Jainism in India in the sixth century B. C. Beyond that there is still only "cosmic nebulae" relieved here and there by a few stray constellations of lucidly distinct historical facts. These "nebulae" have, probably, a depth and density to be measured only in terms of millennia. But from the position where we can now make our historical prospecting, these vast remote dark spaces of Indian history recede and shrink and fold up and, at last, look like a far-away blank, black spherule beyond the galaxy of human remembrance.

## "THE MISSING SKELETON"

Ancient Indian history is, apparently, "full" of such gaps and blanks. Beyond the time when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab (326 B. C.), the galactical system of detailed and authentic Indian history does not far extend. There are too many unexplored blank spaces and unformed, chaotic nebulae beyond that time still. Beginning approximately with that period, we are furnished, sometimes in abundance, with fairly trustworthy material in the shape of contemporary Greek testimony bearing on Indian history, and also, as time rolls on, with inscriptional and other kinds of decipherable and dependable domestic evidence. Of course, an immense mass of "documentary" evidence and evidence in the more or less fluid, volatile state of tradition, hearsay and folk-lore (written or unwritten) have always lain by the side of the historian hitherto busy with his inscriptions, plates, coins, artefacts and any corroborative evidence that may be forthcoming from outside. And that mass of ancient Indian documentary evidence and tradition has, generally, lain neglected by his side. It has been, generally, of little help to him in reconstructing, "on scientific lines", the missing skeleton of ancient Indian history. It has been, however, of great use to the comparative mythologist, philologist, ethnologist and anthropologist.

## "TOUCH OF LIFE"

But even the historian who seeks to reconstruct on scientific lines the missing skeleton of ancient history, whether of India or of any other country, should do well to remember that the dry bones of the skeleton he may have been able to put together will not be true, living history unless they can be made instinct with the touch of life which literature, art, tradition, 'myths', folk-lore, religious and social institutions in their earlier and later forms alone can give. From coins, tablets etc. we can build a possible or even probable frame-work of chronology into which we can put our little bits of tested facts according to one possible plan or other. Such a mosaic of dates and facts (mainly relating to dynastic succession, wars and conquests) is of course important as a necessary ground-plan of history. But it is not the completed structure of history. It is not history as an organic process of evolution. So we have to distinguish between structural or morphological history and organic, "physiological" history.

## ORGANIC HISTORY

Now, India has been so far poor in comparison with some other ancient countries like Egypt, Babylonia and China in her "materials" for writing the first kind of history, and the available materials, as we saw, do not carry us much beyond the time of Buddha and Mahavira in the sixth century B. C. Recently, however, a very old

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It has truly been said that a history of India that reveals the whole panorama of the vast millennia of her distinctive life and civilisation in its actual shade and colour and due proportion and perspective, still remains to be written. The materials for drawing such a vast outline and making such a comprehensive and connected sketch are not yet in hand. A fairly definite outline and connected sketch which gives the promise of being some day developed into what is called "scientific history" has, however, been steadily emerging out of the mist that veils the immensity of India's past—a mist which (thanks to the labours of the investigators) has perceptibly thinned without being as yet actually lifted as far as one can now make one's incursion into the age that saw the birth of Buddhism and Jainism in India in the sixth century B. C. Beyond that there is still only "cosmic nebulae" relieved here and there by a few stray constellations of lucidly distinct historical facts. These "nebulae" have, probably, a depth and density to be measured only in terms of millennia. But from the position where we can now make our historical prospecting, these vast remote dark spaces of Indian history recede and shrink and fold up and, at last, look like a far-away blank, black spherule beyond the galaxy of human remembrance.

## "THE MISSING SKELETON"

Ancient Indian history is, apparently, "full" of such gaps and blanks. Beyond the time when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab (326 B. C.), the galactical system of detailed and authentic Indian history does not far extend. There are too many unexplored blank spaces and unformed, chaotic nebulae beyond that time still. Beginning approximately with that period, we are furnished, sometimes in abundance, with fairly trustworthy material in the shape of contemporary Greek testimony bearing on Indian history, and also, as time rolls on, with inscriptional and other kinds of decipherable and dependable domestic evidence. Of course, an immense mass of "documentary" evidence and evidence in the more or less fluid, volatile state of tradition, hearsay and folk-lore (written or unwritten) have always lain by the side of the historian hitherto busy with his inscriptions, plates, coins, artefacts and any corroborative evidence that may be forthcoming from outside. And that mass of ancient Indian documentary evidence and tradition has, generally, lain neglected by his side. It has been, generally, of little help to him in reconstructing, "on scientific lines", the missing skeleton of ancient Indian history. It has been, however, of great use to the comparative mythologist, philologist, ethnologist and anthropologist.

## "TOUCH OF LIFE"

But even the historian who seeks to reconstruct on scientific lines the missing skeleton of ancient history, whether of India or of any other country, should do well to remember that the dry bones of the skeleton he may have been able to put together will not be true, living history unless they can be made instinct with the touch of life which literature, art, tradition, 'myths', folk-lore, religious and social institutions in their earlier and later forms alone can give. From coins, tablets etc. we can build a possible or even probable frame-work of chronology into which we can put our little bits of tested facts according to one possible plan or other. Such a mosaic of dates and facts (mainly relating to dynastic succession, wars and conquests) is of course important as a necessary ground-plan of history. But it is not the completed structure of history. It is not history as an organic process of evolution. So we have to distinguish between structural or morphological history and organic, "physiological" history.

## ORGANIC HISTORY

Now, India has been so far poor in comparison with some other ancient countries like Egypt, Babylonia and China in her "materials" for writing the first kind of history, and the available materials, as we saw, do not carry us much beyond the time of Buddha and Mahavira in the sixth century B. C. Recently, however, a very old

birth by being eventually absorbed and assimilated into the parent religion. Jainism and many other old or latter "revolts" have thus "squared their accounts" with the same parent religion, and have been for many centuries living peaceably side by side with one another and with the latter.

#### POWER OF ASSIMILATION

This power of assimilation and co-ordination in which all the components make their own contributions and are permitted to live side by side as members of a commonwealth of cultures, has been the secret of the wonderful resisting and staying power of the Indian culture-complex against such disintegrating forces as have smashed up many an old and glorious civilisation of the world. And it can be easily shown from facts that this staying power has been in evidence not only in the realm of cultural contacts and impacts but also in that of social and political ones. There have been many raids into India and invasions before and after Christ, but it is a travesty of facts to imagine that Indian resistance has always been weak and short-lived and that such invasions are typically like the raids of the Mahmud of Gazni which ever swept away Indian armies and kingdoms like cobweb or a house of cards. Before her final subjugation by the Mahammedan Power—and the final subjugation of the whole of India was anything like an accomplished fact only for a time during the reign of the great Moghul Emperors—India had been, it should be borne in mind, a mighty Power and a Model of civilisation and culture for at last three thousand years. And, it should be remembered further that, when the British in India turned from trade to conquest (always with native help and alliance) they had to settle their accounts with Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan in the South, but mainly the Marhatta and Sikh Powers which had risen on the ruins of the Mahammedan Power in India.

#### UNITARY INDIAN EMPIRE

But there were and still have been other factors which, to some extent, operated against India developing a compact and coherent political and military organisation, except occasionally, like, for instance, the great Roman Empire of old or the British Empire in modern times. We possess, apparently, no connected retrospect of the remote past of which the Vedas, Epics and Puranas speak. But as far as appearances go, an unitary, centralised Indian Empire was the exception and not the rule. In later times also, an Empire like that of Asoka was not a common achievement. As we said, India has possessed deep-laid cultural and institutional unity beneath all her diversities. India has fought, and fought bravely, for the integrity of her sacred Land, her sacred Religion and Tradition, and for their sacred visible Symbols and Embodiments. But she has rarely fought for the "State" as such or an Empire as such. The spirit of her culture did not favour the formation and consolidation of Nationalism in the sense it is commonly understood, and her basic institutions would hardly consist with any form of centralised State control. The all-controlling and co-ordinating Principle was *Dharma* (the Principle of human Values and Conduct) rather than any State agency. Each village, for example, was a self-contained commune and autonomous unit owing permanent allegiance to the reign of Dharma and only temporary allegiance to any kingship that might function for the time being. So the village communities continued to live though kingdoms after kingdoms rose and fell. They were but little affected by the accidents and exigencies of politics.

#### "DHARMA"

Again, the spirit of Dharma (which should not be translated as religion) has definitely and systematically favoured all human or even all-living values and tendencies and a cosmopolitan outlook, and has opposed militant, aggressive "predatory" nationalism. The old Upanishads are clear and courageous in their conception of those higher values; and the Darmashastras (or Codes laying down social and individual conduct) were bold and consistent in their execution of those ideas. Later, Buddhism and Jainism and other "reforming" movements have tended only to stress such values as non-violence and fellowship with all men and all living beings. These forces operating through the ages tended to produce in the Indian classes and masses a common disposition not quite favourable to the formation and consolidation of an unitary military state for purposes of offence and defence.

#### IDEALS AND IDEAS

Of the immense back-ground of Indian History which is represented by the Vedas (Samhitas, Brahmanas, Aranyakas and Upanishads), the various Sutras (or Digests),

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### GUPTA DYNASTY

Kanishka, who made Peshawar his capital, proved great as a ruler and as a patron and missionary of the Buddhistic religion. Under him the Kushan branch of the Yuen-chi reached the zenith of its power. But this power fell as another power in middle India rose—the Andhra dynasty. A peak like Amaravati or Ujjain would, sometime, rise and shine in the midst of the moving vastness of Indian waters. In the beginning of the fourth century the centre of political influence in India was again shifted to Pataliputra in Magadha as the Gupta dynasty emerged into power. Samudragupta, who ruled for fifty years, and his son Chandragupta, greatly distinguished themselves not only in war but in the sphere of peaceful and fruitful administration, promoting general prosperity and giving liberal encouragement to art and literature, a glorious tribute to which was paid by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien. According to his testimony, their Empires were vast and their administration just, enlightened. Towards the end of the fifth century—when the White Huns from Central India began to pour themselves into India—the sun of the Gupta dynasty set (during whose regime, it should be noted, there had been a revival and reconstruction of ancient Brahmanism and Brahmanical culture as evidenced especially by the literature of the Puranas ; but this reviving process was, very largely, a process of quiet adaptation and peaceful assimilation). More than a century had elapsed after the fall of the Gupta dynasty before there rose another great and enlightened monarch who could emulate with no mean success the greatest of the Indian rulers in historical times—Asoka. Emperor Harsha, who consolidated his authority practically over the whole of Northern India in the beginning of the seventh century, was famous equally for his great prowess, his high intellectual attainments and for the broad catholicity of his religious outlook. An account of his times has been left by a Chinese, Huen Tsiang by name. In that, India is still painted in generally bright and even glowing colours.

### MEDIAEVAL INDIA

After the death of Harsha, and gradually with the emergence of India into what may be called the mediaeval period, the conditions which had made the political unification of India sometimes possible in the past, nearly disappeared, and India was thrown into a state of political confusion and chaos in which petty kingdoms rose like mushrooms and constant internecine strife prevailed. Some outstanding figures like Vikramaditya would occasionally appear on the stage ; but such events were few and far between. In the South of India was being enacted a very interesting but involved drama in which the Andhras, Pallavas, Chalukyas and Cholas were the principal actors. Kashmir in the north, Kanauj in the Doab and Bengal in the east were also alive with many vivid and vital scenes and events of political, cultural and social interest. But we shall not try to make a review of them here. One outstanding event in the confusion and complexity of the general Indian situation which deserves notice even in passing was the rise of the Rajput power upon which the mantle of the old caste of Kshatriyas (the warrior and ruling caste) fell, and which was the chief opposition that the waves of Mahomedan invasion coming one after another ever since the second quarter of the 7th. century had to encounter and ultimately bear down. Guzrat, Malwa, Ajmere, Kanauj and Delhi were the principal scenes of the new drama of Rajput ascendancy—a dharma so full of episodes of superhuman bravery, noble heroism and sacrifice for the sacred cause of religion and liberty that they have ever since lived in human memory as models which future generations of patriots in any country might well try to emulate. Though Rajput opposition was borne down in Northern India by the end of the twelfth century, Rajput bravery and the spirit that animated it survived the crash of the Hindu Empire of Delhi and Ajmere over which Prithvi Raj, the hero, the last of the Hindu emperors, though not the last of the Hindu rulers, had held sway. Rajput bravery and Rajput love of independence were still factors to reckon with in the days of the great Moghuls—Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzib. Col. Todd and some others have narrated the story, and it constitutes one of the proudest annals in the vast archives of the Hindu glory in India. As to the conquest of Northern India by the Mohammedans, it should be noted, the great prize was not very easily or quickly won ; that the first Mohammedan impact was in the seventh century shortly after the passing away of the Prophet, and a Mohammedan kingdom in Northern India came into being towards the end of the 12th century.

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of very fine results. India's wealth attracted the trade and commerce of the whole civilised world. In fact, America or the West Indies was discovered in an attempt to discover an western route to the Indian market. British, French, Dutch and Portugese traders all came and scrambled for market and, eventually, for political power in India. It is also worthy of note that even under the sway of such masterful monarchs as Sher Shah, Akbar or Aurangzib, the government of the country was, in the main, decentralised, allowing provincial and local autonomy—down to the autonomy of the village units—to adequately function. Even petty local chiefs—like the feudal lords of the mediaeval West—never unlearnt the art of fighting and governing. So it was always possible for a man of ambition and ability, like Shivaji for example, to evolve sanctions whereby he could implement his high political aspirations. It was the very large measure of local autonomy and local initiative that existed that rendered possible the rise of the Marhatta and Sikh Powers and also of the kingdoms of Hyder Ali and the Nizam in the South. And British Power in India in its rise to paramountcy found its most formidable rivals or powerful allies in them.

In 1599, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, some merchants of London formed an association for the purpose of trade with India, and this association was granted a royal charter of incorporation. At first this Company was purely a trading concern establishing factories in the east and west coasts of India and in Bengal and administering its affairs in the three "presidencies", which were at first independent of one another but subordinate to the Board of Directors at home. In course of time, however, chiefly with a view to preserving and consolidating its growing and extensive trade in India, in the face of the French rivalry and intrigue and the prevailing political anarchy and unrest in the land, it established military garrisons of defence which soon became involved in hostilities that saddled it with territorial responsibilities. It fought some decisive battles in Madras and in Bengal, which raised a trading company to the status of a political Power in India. French intrigue failed and French rivalry practically died down in India. One of the most decisive battles fought was the battle of Plassey in 1757. The battle was won with the aid of faithful native battalions, and with the active or passive support of the generals and noblemen of the unfortunate young Nawab of Bengal. It is worthy of note that the path of British supremacy in India, and often, its influence and prestige abroad, has been paved, amongst other things, with the consent, alliance and willing co-operation of the Natives of India. It was so even during the critical period of the Sepoy Mutiny, one hundred years after the battle of Plassey. It was again so during the "ordeal" of the last Great War. The machinery of administration by the East India Company was from time to time modified by Acts of Parliament (1773, 1784; and the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1833). By these a Governor-General-in-Council was made the supreme administrative authority in India subject to a Board of Control at home. By the last Act, the Company ceased to be a commercial concern and became a political and administrative body only. After the Sepoy Mutiny another Act was passed by which the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, and henceforth, the Governor-General was also the Viceroy of India. The functions of the Government of India are wide and its responsibilities heavy. But its responsibilities are to the Crown and the Parliament. It has not rested on an elective popular basis. There have been legislative bodies, but its motions, resolutions and votes have not, except as regards certain matters of secondary importance under the Act of 1919, a binding effect on the Government.

India's contributions and sacrifices in the Great War were great, but the "reward" that came in the shape of the Parliamentary Declaration promising her "a progressive realisation of responsible government", the stages and times of which were to be determined by the Parliament alone, was not comforting to her nationalist aspirations. And the Government of India Act of 1919, which is still in actual function though it has been, apparently, broadened and amplified in some directions by a recent Parliamentary Statute, did not meet the wishes or expectations of India. By that Act dyarchy or a kind of dual responsibility was established in the provinces, where the "nation-building" subjects were "transferred" to Ministers (not responsible however to the legislatures), whilst the more important subjects were "reserved". In practice the transference of certain subjects to Ministers (who were appointed by, held office under the pleasure of, and were responsible to, the Governor) meant little more than a complication of the administrative machinery which became, in consequence, more cumbersome and expensive. The Central Government continued to remain unitary under the scheme. The legislative bodies, both provincial and central, were expanded with non-official

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# INDIA IN HOME POLITY

JANUARY - JUNE 1935

## I. THE DELUSION OF NEW DELHI

When the dawn of the New Year broke upon New Delhi, the fog which had lain heavily over the official quarters had been lifted already. New Delhi was no longer under a delusion that the Congress was dead and finished. Both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India had ruefully discovered that their trusted Oracle of Delhi and Simla—their omniscient and infallible "man on the spot"—had proved a false prophet. The Congress offensive as a method of organised, large-scale direct action had, no doubt, been checked by the high voltage barbed wire entanglements of Ordinance Law and Order. But that did not mean that the Congress had been electrocuted by that high voltage. Even if some organisations in the front line had been killed and some others paralysed, the Oracle of Indian Officialdom should have paused and waited before laying the flattering unction to their souls that, along their Ordinance made barriers and beyond, as far as their bureaucratic binoculars would reach, there lay the mighty carcass of the Congress which had once dared beard the British lion even in the viceregal den—a carcass that might for some time more prove a nuisance by reason of the stench of its decomposition but which had definitely ceased to be a live factor and an actual menace brooding over the Indian situation. It had been a fight between one prestige and another. The prestige of the Government of India as at present constituted is in part dependent on the voluntary consent and active support of the people of India: it relies upon other factors also. But the prestige of the Indian National Congress, and therefore its effective power, is wholly dependent upon the backing of public opinion and public support in India. Government can carry a measure and persevere in it in the teeth of what in the Press here we call public opposition. Because it holds a position backed by immense reserves some of which are represented by such factors as the tacit consent and law-abidingness of the Indian people in general and the loyal support and co-operation of an organised body of Indians helping in the work of administration, both civil and military. Government has long been accustomed to be assured that any laws and orders passed by it will be generally obeyed; that taxes and rates demanded by it will generally be paid; and that its Indian officers and men will be generally loyal and not desert the posts assigned to them. In this important sense, the Indian Government feels sure that its foundations are sufficiently broad, deep and sound. Upon such foundations, it has reared its "steel frame" structure of extra strength, the materials of which have not however been wholly forged in the Indian furnace. In other words, the Indian Government is not dependent upon purely Indian sanctions. It is not yet a government of the Indian people by and for the Indian people.

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JANUARY — JUNE 1935

## I. THE DELUSION OF NEW DELHI

When the dawn of the New Year broke upon New Delhi, the fog which had lain heavily over the official quarters had been lifted already. New Delhi was no longer under a delusion that the Congress was dead and finished. Both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India had ruefully discovered that their trusted Oracle of Delhi and Simla—their omniscient and infallible "man on the spot"—had proved a false prophet. The Congress offensive as a method of organised, large-scale direct action had, no doubt, been checked by the high voltage barbed wire entanglements of Ordinance Law and Order. But that did not mean that the Congress had been electrocuted by that high voltage. Even if some organisations in the front line had been killed and some others paralysed, the Oracle of Indian Officialdom should have paused and waited before laying the flattering unction to their souls that, along their Ordinance made barriers and beyond, as far as their bureaucratic binoculars would reach, there lay the mighty carcass of the Congress which had once dared beard the British lion even in the viceregal den—a carcass that might for some time more prove a nuisance by reason of the stench of its decomposition but which had definitely ceased to be a live factor and an actual menace brooding over the Indian situation. It had been a fight between one prestige and another. The prestige of the Government of India as at present constituted is in part dependent on the voluntary consent and active support of the people of India: it relies upon other factors also. But the prestige of the Indian National Congress, and therefore its effective power, is wholly dependent upon the backing of public opinion and public support in India. Government can carry a measure and persevere in it in the teeth of what in the Press here we call public opposition. Because it holds a position backed by immense reserves some of which are represented by such factors as the tacit consent and law-abidingness of the Indian people in general and the loyal support and co-operation of an organised body of Indians helping in the work of administration, both civil and military. Government has long been accustomed to be assured that any laws and orders passed by it will be generally obeyed; that taxes and rates demanded by it will generally be paid; and that its Indian officers and men will be generally loyal and not desert the posts assigned to them. In this important sense, the Indian Government feels sure that its foundations are sufficiently broad, deep and sound. Upon such foundations, it has reared its "steel frame" structure of extra strength, the materials of which have not however been wholly forged in the Indian furnace. In other words, the Indian Government is not dependent upon purely Indian sanctions. It is not yet a government of the Indian people by and for the Indian people.

a Titan of War and not into those of an Archangel of Peace. Of course in many minor spheres of innocuous public utility the League has been able to keep a record which shows much to its credit. But in all vital matters of world importance, its record of work has not only been poor but, in some cases, dismal and were diabolical.

The vital problems before it are, and have been, three. First, How to build social relationships in any country on a basis of justice, and how, with the help of social justice thus secured, to build the fabric of international justice. This is the main and fundamental problem. It being solved, or the way being paved to its being solved, the way will be paved to the other problems being solved. Those other problems are mainly two. First, how to make Right prevail in every case and not Might : how to make collective interest, in the truly fundamental and universal sense of the word, the ultimate court of appeal in all conflicting issues that may arise not only between one nation and another but also between one class and another, so long as we have classes having interests at variance with one another. Second, How to place each distinctive Race or Culture upon a footing best calculated to create or provide conditions suitable for its growth to the fulness of its material and spiritual stature. In other words, How to create conditions for its free, unhampered self-fulfilment. We have stated the problems in the abstract. But taking the case of any particular country, race or culture, it is possible to set forth the picture design not only in broad outline but also, to any desired extent, in actual shade and colour. The fundamental problem as stated above may suggest the Soviet picture. We shall not be surprised if it does. But we make bold to remark that though the ideal picture may be, in a large measure, Soviet in outline, it need not be the Red Union in actual tone and colour.

#### IV. THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS

The three fundamental problems are the problems of Equality, Fraternity and Freedom, not only of individuals but of societies, races and cultures, the solutions of which have been sought through terrible ordeals of fire and blood, but have not so far been found. It is doubtful that human corporations as a whole are, through all these terrible trials, approaching a just and assured solution. Some thought while others doubted that the French Revolution really moved things forward. The Great War was proclaimed as a war fought to end war and make the world safe for democracy. But disillusionment came rather too soon. The war has not, by common consensus of opinion, made the world a better or a safer world to live in. One good result of the war was the League Idea. Another was the Soviet Idea of equality and fraternity. The Fascist Idea also puts forth its claim. But whilst the first was very nearly still-born and has been kept alive chiefly for anti-League purposes, by artificial means, the latter (i.e. Soviet) was ushered into existence in a revolution much too red to allow the stream of human federation to ever run smooth and clear towards its promised Destiny. Not only so. The League has not unoften prostituted itself into a Clique of the Big Powers so that they may the better conspire and contrive to lord it over the rest of the world ; and while keeping up a pretence of regard for the League

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and, therefore, greater harmony and progress, amongst the world's teeming millions. Whether the Soviet Russia has or has not yet reached this consummation, is another question. It is a question of fact and demands a careful and impartial enquiry. As a matter of fact, the actual picture of the Soviet Union has been drawn in flagrantly different colours by presumably competent observers who claim that they have sketched and drawn from the original. It has proved both a glowing picture and a dismal one. Intermediate tones have also occasionally been received. Perhaps one must steer clear of both a Soviet heaven in actual being and a Soviet hell. One's interests are commonly so exclusive in the capitalist system or in the reverse, that one can hardly, in a case like this, expect to be presented with what we may call a just and balanced picture. But even assuming that the actual thing is darker than as commonly drawn for the edification of one group of interests or other, we must say in justice to the Communist Idea that the fault, in so far as it really exists, cannot be attributed to the Idea itself so much as to the actual methods pursued to carry it out, and to the *ensemble* of world situations to-day which, naturally, offer resistance to a process which would cut them violently across their grain. It is the methods actually adopted to realize the end and the more or less stubborn resistance and reaction produced by them in the circumambient world-order which have engendered a tangle of forces and confusion of effects not permitting the Communist Endeavour to appear in its true sense and right perspective. Fascist Italy or Germany and the more or less capitalist regime in other countries have in fear and haste donned their armour of offence, and defence, and the coloured, think, curved glasses on their eye-holes not only magnify and colour the actual dispositions of their common "enemy", but they even conceal their own true and natural expression. It may well be that Fascist Italy or Nazi Germany is like a floating ice-berg, only the floating one-tenth of which is Fascist or Nazi, and the remaining submerged nine-tenths are socialist or communist. And it may so happen that the floating pyramid may one day topple over and rest with its apex merged in the depths and its broad and massive foundations rising majestically into the light of the day.

## VII. THE UTOPIA

For our own part, whilst we cannot help admiring the grandeur and beauty of the communist conception of the Utopia, we cannot also help regretting that this Utopia has been sought to be materialised upon earth by means which may produce not only a temporary chaos out of which an earthly paradise is expected to slowly take its rise, but one out of which Capitalism, going under for a while, may come back as a revived Titan smashing up the flimsy structure of the hastily improvised and unset Utopia. The Communist analysis of the human tangle is not thorough and far-reaching enough. Its treatment of the human being as mainly an economic animal, and of human society as mainly an economic entity, is not radical enough to ensure that the success of its plan as it is now conceived will lead us further than half-way or quarter way houses along the long and arduous path that has to be trodden ere we are within the hailing distance of our journey's end. Unless we start with an understanding and appreciation of the deeper

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formation—such has been attempted by the great religions of the world—and, thereby, seeking to adjust and harmonise the external relations of men. Secondly, it is a misconception of the true nexus of cause and effect to suggest that as, historically, religion has failed and its failure is believed by some to have a cumulative worsening effect on the tone and quality of human endeavour, we must turn away from religion and try a new ideology and method. All vital movements, not excluding the communist one, have to move by describing curves showing ascent and descent. Any Idea seeking to fashion its material in this material universe of ours must necessarily do so. Its progress is never an easy walk-over. To blame religion as such for the existing world evil is no better than to blame pure science for the evil of world war.

## X. THE DEEPER ISSUES

But in this Introduction we have no desire to examine and decide one way or the other the deeper issues involved. The deeper issues are, however, to-day more insistent in their demand on our most serious attention than they ever perhaps were before. We can no longer pretend to ignore them or lightly put them off. The "wolf" of Communism is barking at every door, and there is no pretending to keep oneself indoors comfortably snug and secure. You can drive the "wild wolf" from your door only by letting loose your faithful hound. Or, to put it simply, as a solution of the very grave world tangle, Communism is there as a very bold and powerful challenge. You must meet the challenge with a solution as radical, and, if possible, more durable and effective. If you sincerely think that Fascism is such a solution, try it by all means. But mere temporising will not do. If Fascism or any other alternative scheme for the matter of that be simply a ruse to get a breathing time before the mighty steam roller of the new ideology actually gets you under, you may be sure that the ruse in the hour of need will not stand you in good stead. Your counter action must be radical, thorough and permanent. Not only your own country but whole Humanity should be able to attain or return to a position of just and balanced equilibrium, reducing injustice and exploitation progressively to the vanishing point, by living according to your plan. Possibly, if your plan of action be not temporising and selfish self-guarding, you will find that the need of a final fight to a finish with the new ideology will no longer exist. Your method and route and those of your "enemy" will then be found to gradually converge and meet. They are bound to do so if you and he agree as to the ultimate aims and purposes. If there be such agreement, your plans and those of your "enemy" will be found to be more and more assimilated to one another. They will then form components of a comprehensive whole. The Fascist programme will in that case take nearly all the wind out of the Communist sails and vice versa. So long as the conscience of Humanity, of the different races and peoples, do not wake up to a recognition of this brotherhood of ideals and methods, of the variety of component notes in the resultant Theme, one Idea—Fascist or Communist or any other—will seek to dictate and require the rest of them to capitulate. The soul of exploitation, coercion and tyranny will so long live. The seed of dis-harmony and discord will so long live also.

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ceremony and flourish, pass resolutions in the name of *Vox Dei*, would see to it that their resolutions and speeches backing the resolutions were so broadcast as to attract the notice of the Olympic Gods, and then, at the conclusion of their self-imposed three-days' labours, quietly retire from the platform of many a cheer and applause and go back to their respective professions to make their private pile and win their personal laurels. Yet for an India of undeveloped political and class consciousness, the three days' Vakil breath was not quite lost upon a common platform. The common platform, on which were arrayed all kinds of picturesque head-dresses, was itself a new factor and symbol, the meaning of which certainly went home into the minds of the thousands of visitors assembled in the pandal and others who happened to be interested in the performance. Gradually, however, the Congress became increasingly a mass movement. It also gradually learnt how to pay the price for what it wants —freedom. It evolved an organisation which has earned for it the recognition even by its opponents that it is the best organised national body in India with which it was thought worthwhile by the Governments of Lord Irwin and Lord Willingdon to open negotiation. Clearly, it has been able to earn a great deal of public sanction in India. The masses have been, in a large measure, drawn into the arena of its activity, and its programmes are being increasingly inspired by a real solicitude to serve the interests of the masses.

### XIII. THE CONGRESS MACHINERY HOW FAR ADEQUATE

Nevertheless, it cannot yet be claimed for it that it is an organisation in which the interests of all—the labouring classes as well as the propertied classes—are directly represented in an evenly proportionate way. The Karachi Congress adopting the resolution on the Fundamental Rights was a move in the right direction. But that move by itself has not transformed the character of the Congress as an organisation mainly run by the capitalist classes which, in the view of the advanced Indian socialist, exploit the sacrifice and suffering of the masses to chiefly further their own ends. In other words, the Congress is still out to secure a government by the capitalist classes and not one by the labouring classes which constitute India's untold millions. Possibly, this is too sweeping an accusation against the spirit and policy of the Congress, and we have no doubt that there are sincere men in the Congress front row and elsewhere who do earnestly seek to subordinate their class interests to the interests of the masses. Much of the mass awakening and mass cooperation in the Congress activity is due to the self-denying spirit and labours of these men. Mahatma Gandhi has been the chief of these self-denying workers for mass uplift and mass emancipation. Pandit Jawharlal has also been a prominent figure, and the socialist tendencies and adaptations in the Congress organisation which have of late been manifest, have, in part, been traced to the fervid inspiration and forceful guidance of the Pandit. There are other stars of exalted, pure brilliance shining in the Indian sky which have not only shed lustre on the dark, troubled waters of the Indian ocean, but have also shown the way along which the benighted bark of Indian nationalism may on the one hand avoid the sunken reef of

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and the kind of start proposed to be now made that makes all the difference. If the White Paper or the J. P. C. Scheme has failed to evoke any enthusiasm in India, it is not primarily because the goal has not been clearly set before us, but because we have been scarcely given to feel that we are being given a fair start or that we shall be permitted to run at a pace that will carry us to *any* goal which any self-respecting country may think it worth its while to run after. For, as regards the goal, it is the substance of independence that matters. This substance may, possibly, as well, be found inside the British Commonwealth of Nations as outside. At any rate, this is not at present an actual bone of contention in the Nationalist circles. But there is common agreement about this that the thing to run after must be a substance and not a shadow, and that the run must be made in all seriousness and with a minimum of restraining and delaying handicaps.

#### XV. SUBSTANCE AND SHADOW

It is this consciousness that we have been given a substance to run after and that we are being constrained to begin at a point much behind where we should have begun and at a pace much slower than what should be not only possible but easy for us,—it is this feeling of inferiority complex thrust on us—that makes all the difference between Indian nationalism and British “benevolent despotism” with respect to the proposed plan of political advance. The Indian National Congress, as representing most of the progressive forces of Indian nationalism, has, therefore, been seeking to reach the goal (the substance of independence) independently of British Government’s help and inspite of its opposition at a pace and on terms which shall not brand us with an undeserved and unjust stigma of inferiority in the assembly of nations.

#### XVI. THE POINT OF VITAL DIFFERENCE

It is idle and unwise, therefore, to think or pretend to think that the Congress means anarchy or that its methods aim at producing anarchy. If Great Britain is serious in her declaration that the goal of Indian advance is responsible government, full and complete, and if she is sincere in her profession that she will see to it that this goal is progressively reached, then, the difference between her and Indian nationalism reduces itself to a difference as regards the kind of start to be now made and the pace at which things are to move. The existing order may decline to be hustled and rushed and may complain if it is made to run at a pace which does not suit it. This is but natural. It may be like the hare and the tortoise in the story running a race. The hare jumps and flies at the goal, but it may not be sure and steady. The tortoise creeps and crawls, but though slow, it may be sure. And, quite possibly, as in the story, the tortoise may win. The result is a question of fact which one cannot predetermine by theory or speculation one way or the other. Apart from accidents met or sought on the way, the chances are ninety-nine to one that the hare will win. Steadiness is a virtue that stands one in good stead no doubt, but virility and forcefulness are traits that are necessary to move things

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late at a tremendously high pressure threatening to completely blow up the machinery of "civilisation" at any moment. What is needed is a thorough overhauling and renewing of the machinery itself.

### XVIII. THE EXISTING ORDER

The political and economic structure which, for some time, proved useful in this country seems no longer to fit us at all at any rate, not to the same extent as before. Maladjustment has long been manifest. The existing order appears to be no longer adapted to the requirements of actual or ideal fitness and justice, whether we deal with the India of to-day apart from or with reference to the context of world situations. New adaptations have to be made. New devices have to be adopted. We cannot simply sit tight over the old, rusty boiler putting its safety-valves permanently out of action or trying to feverishly screw them down. It is a business unsafe for us and unsafe for the Government. The nationalist movements in India, both violent and non-violent, have let off some pent-up steam, and they have been, inspite of some of their unwelcome features, an warning that steam has for some time been accumulating at a high pressure in a rusty, huge, old-fashioned boiler which has been out of date and out of repair for half a century. Those who are in charge of this machine seem to have been hopelessly behind "line" in their reading of the meter indicating the rise and fall of pressure. When, for instance, the civil disobedience movement started by the Congress is checked by their steam-roller, they heave a sigh of relief and imagine that the engine has been relieved of so much pressure. It is this misreading of the meter that is responsible for the flatteringunction being comfortably laid to the bureaucratic soul that the Congress is dead and finished. The official attitude in relation to the violent and communist movements also is, in part, due to this misreading and miscalculation of the real efficiency ratio of the machine that is being worked—a ratio determined by the actual strength and configuration of the machine and the actual and potential power generated by it or otherwise brought to bear upon it. Government has been trying to keep down some of this power as represented by the violent and communist commotions in the country by applying a kind of break which is likely to fail us at the critical moment. An wise engineer must enquire about the *what*, *how* and *why* of the disturbance before applying the break or unscrewing a valve. Of course, disturbance of a certain kind and assuming certain proportions has to be checked by all means. And this has to be done not only consistently with safety of the machine but with the requirements of the ultimate end which the work of the machine should have in view. For, after all, the end is greater than its means. And for this reason—whenever a disturbance or something untoward happens, the engineer must try to carefully examine his machine and put it in order. This repairing and renewing must be, in every case, sufficient unto the purpose. It is only by putting the machine itself in order, adequate and sufficient for the purpose, that undesired disturbances can be effectively checked. It is like fortifying the constitution itself against the disease-producing germs and other causes of ailing. Now, the British Government has been proceeding apace with its Indian constitutional reforms. But has it been

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interest and convenience. Japan and China were both members of the League. Yet when Japan made an war of aggression on China, no solicitude worth the name was evinced in high quarters for redressing the injury done to the League cause by an application of the military or economic sanctions. Japan was allowed to create a precedent in defiance of the League Principles which Mussolini has now followed. The re-arming of Germany is a fact which, again, is considered by many as a violation of the Principles of the League. But France and England and other Big Powers had to swallow it as best they could. Britain has never been slow to draw her nuts safe in any manner of fire that may burn. She has recently concluded, presumably behind the back of the League, an Anglo-German Naval Agreement. Yet the League Idea was to especially forbid the making of private pacts and alliances which have always been found to entangle inter-national relations. On many a critical occasion in the past the League has been quietly sabotaged. Powers bent upon securing their ends have joined or left the League according as the one course or the other would best subserve their ends. Even now, when Italy has steadily been closing its death grip on the neck of poor Abyssinia, our modern saints and sages, who were swearing by the Cross of the League Idea, are quietly tucking the Cross away in their inner garments, presumably very near to their hearts, whilst their hands have automatically flown, not indeed as yet to the side where the sword may be hanging, but to their pockets where their class or imperialist interests are safe-custodied. Already the cry has been heard that the League has been or is going to be side-tracked. And although the stage actors, especially in view of the elections ahead, have been loudly protesting their innocence, there seems to be hardly a room for doubt that, behind the screens, plots are maturing whereby each Big Power draw its share of nuts, proportionate to its bigness, safe out of the fire, while allowing the crude ore of Abyssinian independence to be burnt in the furnace of an exterminating modern war, so that it may be speedily sublimated into a "sphere of Influence" to be influenced by the pact and plan of the plotting Powers. Really, it is the strategic and economic importance of Abyssinia from the British imperialist point of view—its importance with reference to Egypt and Sudan and British Somaliland in Africa and its Empire and trade routes in the East and the Far East—which has made British statesmen so ardent apostles of the Cross of the League. It has been suggested, and not perhaps quite unjustly, that the present conflict is only ostensibly a conflict between Italy and Abyssinia ; that, in reality, it is a conflict between British Imperialism already in actual flesh and blood and the Imperialism of the ancient Roman Eagle of which Mussolini now feverishly dreams and which, in the womb of Destiny, seems to be already in the throes of its birth. The good things of the world are not too many for the greed or need of two rival Empires. And one of the best things of the world is England's Indian possession—the brightest jewel in the Crown. Egypt, the Red Sea with its two lock-gates at Suez and Aden, have also an importance all their own. A First-Class Power like Italy perched on the salubrious, strategic and commanding heights of Abyssinia, will, obviously, be too menacingly a powerful factor for the security and "safe sailing" of the

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On far too many questions he had one policy and his party pursued another.

As he himself said in his apologia at the party conference at Brighton: "During the last six years first in the Labour Government and then as leader of the party, I have been in a kind of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde position."

It is one that no man with the high sense of honour of Mr. Lansbury could tolerate indefinitely.

For he is a man who, throughout his life, had sought for the truth. When he has found it—or thought that he had found it—whatever the cost he has stood up for it.

And one might add that not only in Home affairs but in the most vital matters concerning the Indian Dependency, Mr. Lansbury, and possibly also, Lord Irwin, the "Christian Viceroy", found themselves "in a kind of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde position" when, under the Labour Government, they were fighting and trying to hold in a strangling grip Indian Nationalism.

#### XXIV. DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE

It is this Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde position in which many of the world actors find themselves which is especially unfortunate. Many, again, have not imagination enough to see that they are in this position, and they play in their double role without even a stray flash of lucid intuition showing them that they personify downright self-contradiction. Poor Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the socialist author of "The Awakening of India", continued to speak in the same socialist strain, while, as the Chief of the Labour and the Nationalist Governments, practically his every public act was given the lie direct to his lofty utterances. Was he also in the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde position? The question is not of mere dual personality in many cases: it is one of multiple personality. And the beauty as well as the pathos of the thing often is that the two or many personalities, rolled apparently into the same high, right honourable personage, are in function at the same time blissfully unconscious of the fact that it is so. So the right hand not only knoweth not what the left giveth, but the one taketh away what the other giveth. Often the one arrests the other, and the result is that nothing is given. But we need not here delve deeper into the depths of this profoundly interesting imperialist branch of psycho-analysis.

Apart from the gang of international war-profiteers who manage "the devil's work", and their many henchmen in the political, economic and journalistic fields who "have sold their birth-right for a mess of pottage", there are few normal people who would like to disturb the peace of the world for the sheer joy of it. They are too mortally hit by wars to think of their spoils. Even the ex-service men who actually passed through the terrible fire in the last war are, as a body, against a repetition of the same terrible experience. And His Excellency the Governor of Bengal was, obviously, right when he was

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which may be aptly described as a kind of war neurasthania. Governments are believed sometimes to go on war to keep themselves in power. It has been suggested, for instance, that Mussolini has waged this war upon Abyssinia as an alternative to his own downfall. It may or may not be so. But one thing is certain. War is not merely a safety-valve for letting off superfluous steam that would otherwise imperil the Plant of the existing System, but it is often a goad or a stunt to serve a variety of purposes which are not helpful or legitimate in view of the general good. We shall not discuss the general question whether war and pestilence are safety-valves which Nature must occasionally use to relieve the accumulated pressure of population upon available means of subsistence, or also, whether they are some of the means employed by the Powers shaping human destiny to effect a spiritual and moral purging and cleansing of the race which has been overdue. The *Bhagavad Gita* speaks of a Righteous War and the faltering hero is braced up by Divine Word to fight it. Many will say that this is not merely an inner fight between Good and Evil. Battles externally fought may also be righteous. At any rate, many continue to think that it may be so. Hitler and Mussolini have both sung hallelujah to the War-god. Many, again, think that though war is an evil, *per se* good will sometimes come out of it. That noble exiled son of Bengal—Subhas Ch. Bose—, for example, in an article recently contributed to the *Modern Review* says that the dark war cloud which now, perhaps “no bigger than the palm of your hand”, hangs menacingly on the African horizon, may not be without its proverbial silver lining.

They say that every dark cloud has its silver lining. So it is in the case of Abyssinia. Abyssinia will go down fighting, but she will stir the conscience of the world. On the one hand throughout the world of coloured races there will be a new consciousness. The consciousness will herald the dawn of a new life among the suppressed nations. All imperialists are feeling uneasy about this phenomenon and General Smuts gave expression to it in one of his recent speeches. On the other hand, thinking men in the imperialist countries have begun to ask themselves if the system of colonization is at all a justifiable one. Prof. Harold Laksi once in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* suggested, for example, that all the African colonies of Great Britain should be handed over to the League of Nations. Of late, Mr. Lansbury has made a passionate appeal for pooling together all the raw materials of the world for the common benefit of mankind. And last but not least, even the die-hard Sir Samuel Hoare was forced to say at Geneva that he welcomed an investigation somewhat in the direction of the proposals of Mr. Lansbury. So even the imperialist “haves” have begun to feel a prick of conscience.

There are two ways in which Imperialism may come to an end—either through an overthrow by an anti-imperialist agency or through an internecine struggle among imperialists themselves. If the second course is furthered by the growth of Italian Imperialism, then Abyssinia will not have suffered in vain.

#### XXVII. “HAVES” AND “HAVE-NOTS”

Thus wars which are being fought between the imperialist “haves” and “have-nots”, may, under certain conditions and in some cases, lead to a kind of result which it would be difficult to otherwise bring about. Such wars may lead to the crash of the entire structure of imperialism itself—bringing down both its “Have” and “Have-not” wings into a common welter of destruction, out of which a more just and balanced order of society, not arbitrarily split up into haves and have-nots, will gradually build itself. The economically and politically suppres-

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terranean while the British Premier and the Foreign Secretary are rending the skies with their high-pitched sermons on the election platform or on the international stage. They are determined to maintain peace—which, of course, means Big White Peace—with the help of the League. The help of the League, however, was not “invoked” in some other post-War wars amongst League members which did not involve Big White Peace. Consistency is a hobgoblin only of “Little Powers”. Great Powers will have none of it. Their present attitude in relation to the responsibilities of the League and obligations of League membership is, nevertheless, most logical. But are they prepared to follow up to the “last ditch” their Logic in its most logical march to its most logical consequences? We quote below a few lines from Mr. Bernard Shaw—(*“Time and Tide”*)—

### XXX. GREAT POWERS AND LITTLE

It served us right for signing a cowardly, amateurish, and impossible treaty with one hand, and, with the other, an equally impossible Covenant to which the Allies had not given a moment's thought, and never on any important occasion showed the slightest intention of taking seriously.

But this Italian business is much more complicated. When Signor Mussolini, like the village blacksmith, looked the whole world in the face and told it to go to hell, he split it into irreconcileable factions, in which Pacificsts always the most ferocious of the sects clamour for blood and iron, and Militarists, always terrified, declare that we must keep out of it at all costs. The conflicting moral attitude make comedy on a grand scale. The noblest attitude struck is that the issue is not between Haile Selassie and Benito Mussolini, but between supernational law represented by the League of Nations and predatory nationalism, Fascism, and the ambition of a would-be Napoleon.

Our love of exalted moral attitudes responds rapturously to this. But there is a catch in it. Such a case against Italy is nothing if not logical, and the complete logic of the situation would not only involve the excitement of sending our young men to drop bombs on Rome and Florence, Venice and Verona, Ravenna and Padua where we spend such delighted holidays, but transfer to the League of New Zealand, Canada, Australia, India, Gibraltar and our South African Dominions; in short, of all these territories of the British Empire which we have annexed precisely as Italy proposes to annex Abyssinia.

“I am following your example, gentlemen”, said the Duce when the point was raised. He might have added that imitation is the sincerest flattery.

To this we have not a word to say except that if there had been a League of Nations when we did these things we should of course never have dreamt of doing them. In which case there would have been no British Empire.

### XXXI. THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

So our slipping, in a mood of absent-minded abandon, into the robe of imperialism in the predatory, pre-League days of yore has involved us in a curious vicious circle. The logic of imperialism has the logic of League Convention by the tail, and we shall not be surprised to find the former eventually finish the latter by eating it up, head and tail. Inspite of their rather obtrusive ring of cynicism, the last words of the article from which a few lines have been quoted above, will bear reproduction—

I suppose the Negus must fight because if he does not the tribes will possibly kill him for cowardice; but in the long run the bourgeois will win; and what is more, the European powers must take the bourgeois side and put pressure on the Negus even whilst they profess to put it on IL Duce. They must willy nilly be loyal to their civilization, such as it is. The Italians must allow us to slaughter the Mombands, because, if we do not kill these warlike hillmen they will kill us. And we must allow the Italians to slaughter the Danakils for the same reason.

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the fray. But if it be vital and true to itself, it may be used as a timely lever by which the world can be lifted out of the bottomless pit into which it has been fast sinking. India should, therefore, beware how she allows her noble and still alive civilisation to act and be reacted upon by modern forces. Her cultural subjection and her economic and political dependence will continue to make her a prime strain and stress centre in the present imperialist framework as she so long has been. It has been contended, and rightly so, that the subjection of India is a fact that has been at the bottom of much of the international dis-equilibrium and unrest and trouble. Not only British Foreign policy but nearly the whole of White (and recently also of Yellow) policy has been conceived and framed directly or indirectly with reference to India. If Britain must keep her Indian possession—with all the power and prestige and good things of the earth which this possession means—then, the sheer logic of the circumstances requires her to acquire sanctions, military or diplomatic, whereby her possession can be adequately safe-guarded. And if she acquires these sanctions, her neighbours cannot be expected to be merely looking on. And if they arm, plan and manoeuvre, we cannot expect the rest of the world to be merely looking on. So there is, naturally, a race not only in armament but also in diplomacy. France or Italy or Germany or Japan or any other country for the matter of that can not afford to live in isolation, cultural, political, or social, unconcerned and undisturbed.

### XXXV. ISOLATION AND IMITATION

Every country claiming current value for its own distinctive civilisation and culture, should, therefore, create conditions under which its genius may be given a free play to evolve a Plan which, while realising all that is best in it, will, in the same act, make its contribution to the general good of the greatest possible value. Such a Plan keeps clear of isolation which is not possible and of imitation which is not desirable. There is no sense or value in India making herself "in the image of" Soviet Russia or Fascist Italy or Nazi Germany. Let hers be an original Self and Urge. Only such a Self will be of any value. The Indian National Congress, if it still dreams of its being the future Indian State, should so constitute itself, in spirit, in being and in becoming, that it may more and truly and vitally represent the Self and Genius of this ancient land. Indian Mussalmans, Christians and others can, without much difficulty, be fitted, along with the Hindu majority, into the framework of a common Indian Spirit and Purpose, if only the factors, external or internal, which cause, apparently more activity now than before, their disintegration and discord, can be counteracted. So far neither the Indian National Congress as a body nor the Socialist and other parties that are evolving inside or outside it, have bestowed a serious thought on the supremely vital question of what the distinctive nature of the Indian Genius may be and what Plan—comprehensive Plan—should naturally grow out of a healthy functioning of that Genius. In the last century, the Congress started its children's drill of political exercises under British Liberal drill masters. Lately, she has been taught some radical or socialist exercises too. But these exercises, though they have created a great deal of stir, health-giving

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she should be prepared for an end which, one way or the other, will not be deemed worthy by its conscience which still sits in judgment over its acts and tendencies. Its Council-entry programme will gradually gather momentum, and, in due course, weighted down with the policy of Office-acceptance, it will find itself moving irresistibly down-hill into the cool, sequestered vale of sanity and sobriety strewn with the shady and secluded graves of many an easy-going Indian "ism", basking in the sun of official favour in its day and will possess but an antiquarian value and interest in the fossil wings of the museum of living history. In that case, as it moves farther and farther on in this course of softening in life and hardening in death, it will be a factor of increasingly dwindling power index, for good or for evil, until, at the natural completion of the course of degradation, it will have become a cypher in the Indian calculus of vital probabilities. Even as that it will have, however, some value. Indian moderation, though (as its critics allege) practically a cypher in some respects, proves, nevertheless, a sort of trump card sometimes in the hand of the Indian Dispensation. It can depend upon it that, after due protests and petitions, it will fail us not when the time comes for work and no more talk with respect to any scheme, good, bad or indifferent, that may be offered. Recently, another trump card, amazingly decisive in the game, has come handy. It is Indian Communalism. But it is not a cypher apart from bureaucratic backing. It is often a factor of positive mischief. Now, the question is this—Is the Congress—a national institution of power and promise—going ultimately to be a cypher? That will depend upon whether it is going to make elections and offices its main concern for the present and its sole concern ultimately. Will it permit itself to forget in the artificial heat of the Legislative Chamber that the Dynamo that must evolve sanctions, sufficient and adequate unto the purpose of Indian Swaraj, *Purna* or naturally growing into such, cannot be possibly fed and worked by the "energy" which the Council Chamber or even the Polling Booth under existing or proposed conditions can be expected to generate. Do you or do you not practically turn your back upon the door of the power house where the required energy must be generated to work the Dynamo? If you do, the artificial heat of the Chamber will not long arrest your freezing into death, and transforming ultimately into mummies or dummies. Then, like some other cyphers, both here and elsewhere, you will count only when "on the back" of real numbers.

### XXXVIII. OTHERS WILL COUNT

But the Dynamo will still be operated by others. And these others will then count. Either the Left Wing of the Congress, growing in bulk and power, will devour the Right and the Centre, just as Indian Extremism grew to devour Moderatism and Liberalism. Or, as it is more likely, the Congress will cast off its worn-out brown bureaucratic skin, and continue to live and thrive as a new Thing. In either case, the grown Thing or the new Thing will be an essentially different Thing. It may discard not only the skin of present-day Congress methods but even the skeleton of present:Congress ideology. This transformation has already set in. There is no denying it or stopping it absolutely. But Congress should have the vision to visualise what has been coming and the strength to guide and control the process. Because its form will

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socialist limb will, evidently, mean a supply of ever fresh blood to the half-a-century old Congress Body. It will not permit the attention or the energy of the Congress to be diverted from an earnest grappling with the problem of all problems—a just and equitable readjustment of the economic and social relations of the classes and masses in India. Apart from such effort being constantly made, Congress political activity is likely to gradually degenerate into futility and impotence. The springs of the Congress Urge will, in that case, be less and less ample until they dry up altogether. On the other hand, Indian Socialism will be wise to allow itself to be hatched under the wings of Mother Congress. Those wings will shelter and nurse. Refusing their shelter, the young brood can hardly be expected to be able to weather the "storm" that has been blowing all the world over.

#### XLI. FIRST REASON

In the first place, there is the danger of its drifting, before its time, into the whirl-wind of inter-nationalism and, there, finding its existence as a distinct Indian entity engulfed, shattered to pieces and quite lost. In other words, it may find itself braving the "cosmic elements" without first having provided itself with timber and metal duly seasoned in nationalism, and with rudder and compass tested and tried in the same workshop. The Ottawa Pact, for instance, may be a good idea so far as the politically and economically equal partners of the British Empire are concerned. But what sense is there in a brass vessel and an earthen vessel making a pact to float tied together in the stream? India must first earn the necessary political and other sanctions, before she can expect to be a factor that shall tell in the international sphere. She now already enjoys the position of an "original" member of the League of Nations. But this does not avail her. Germany or Japan can get out of the League or get in without much ado according as the one act or the other best suits her. She has sanctions for either. Italy is still in the League and kicking at it because she has, or believes she has, sanctions enough to counter the League sanctions that may be applied against her. Soviet Russia, in theory, is the most ardent apostle of Inter-nationalism to-day. But she has taken good care to first make her position secure and strong as a distinct national entity. She even refuses to muddle in others' affairs. In the case of India, where this entity is only in the process of being developed, a very substantial part of the available energy must be spent for the distinct purpose of completing the process and the requisite energy should not be diverted from it and thrown, for example, into what is called class struggle. Class adjustment may be your final objective; but you cannot march up to it without taking up your first, second and third lines of movement, and consolidating each as you advance. At the same time, you cannot take your eyes away from the final objective; and you must make sure at each point as it is reached that you are really making for the goal. So Socialistic thought and programme should not only be suffered to remain in Congress Counsels, but they should be invited and justly entertained.

#### XLII. SECOND REASON

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The Congress must define its fundamental position, which should be reasonably broad enough to accommodate all parties that are open to conversion, where and to the extent necessary, by a reasonably comprehensive and sound common national ideology and plan. In this sense, even the party of violence may be accommodated within the common national framework, provided it holds itself open to persuasion and conversion in the manner indicated. In other words, it should be the constant endeavour of the Congress as the common national organisation to convert all refractory factors and divergent tendencies to a common, dynamic national belief and action. Its attitude in relation to violence, communism, communalism, and so forth, should not be passive. It should seize upon them all and try to transmute and assimilate them all. Else, they will grow independently—and, possibly, as foes and not as friends of the Congress and of one another.

And there is this last consideration. We have spoken of the Genius of India and the distinct, original contribution it made in the past to the store-house of world civilisation, and the distinct, original contribution it is destined to make to the civilisation and well-being of the future. This is no mere idle dream. If the Congress is to pass the final test, it must, in its heart of heart, dream this dream, make others dream it, and prepare itself and others to realise the dream. This should be its chief inspiration. It should share this inspiration with all the workers in the field. The field is as vast as it is interesting. We are all working—those of the Congress and those not of it—without making anything like a comprehensive and intensive survey of the field. We do not know the Reality that India is. And we have hardly a suspicion of the Power that India is. We are still in the frog hole of ignorance and self-deception. We have, sometimes, heard the Call of the Ocean or fancied that we have heard it, but, in any case, we have heeded it not. We have not yet put ourselves in the right track that shall lead us to it. The Congress hole has been a big hole, but still it has been a hole. Of late, it has been stagnating. The Congress should now be out to find the track leading to the Sea. And so long as the Sea is not reached, there will be no real, free and open commerce with the rest of the world. A programme to restore a vital, intensive contact with the Reality and Power that India has been and still is—is the supreme need of the hour. Will the Congress fail us in this hour of need? If it should, a New Spirit and a New Form will arise which will prick the half a century old Congress bubble into unsubstantial nothingness. If the Congress do not throw itself heart and soul into the kind of releasing, restoring, reforming and reorganising work of which we have spoken, the chances are that, ere long, it will find itself made into a kind of new *Delhi ka laddu*. Or, will it prefer to be a Simla fog? Or, both?

#### XLV. CONGRESS OFFICIAL PROGRAMME

That the shade we have laid on the above dark prognosis is not needlessly too thick, will appear from the observations of those who are in the "thick of the battle." Babu Rajendra Prasad has, recently, described the official programme of the Congress in these words:—"The Congress is wedded to a constructive programme and it is two-fold. One is the promotion of mutual good will, harmony and friendship amongst the people of the country, and the other is the redemption of the poverty

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of psychic notes—in fact, over a whole gamut. The countryside is so dull, so uninteresting! We so much miss the thrills. But we do not propose to play on them. We reproduce the following at length from Mahatmaji's "Fear Complex":—

Many workers are so frightened of village life that they fear that if they are not paid by some agency they will not be able to earn their living by labouring in villages, especially if they are married and have a family to support. In my opinion this is a demoralizing belief. No doubt, if a person goes to a village with the city mentality and wants to live in villages the city life, he will never earn enough unless he, like the city people, exploits the villagers. But if a person settles in a village and tries to live like the villagers, he should have no difficulty in making a living "by the sweat of his brow". He should have confidence that if the villagers who are prepared to toil all the year round in the traditional unintelligent manner can earn their living, he must also earn at least as much as the average villager. This he will do without displacing a single villager, for he will go to a village as a producer, not as a parasite.

The fact is the villagers have lost all hope. They suspect that every stranger's hand is at their throats and that he goes to them only to exploit them. Divorce between intellect and labour has paralysed their thinking faculty. Their working hours they do not use to the best advantage. The worker should enter such villages full of love and hope, feeling sure that where men and women labour unintelligently and remain unemployed half the year round, he working all the year round and combining labour with intelligence, cannot fail to win the confidence of the villagers and earn his living honestly and well by labouring in their midst.

'But what about my children and their education?' says the candidate worker. If the children are to receive their education after the modern style, I can give no useful guidance. If it be deemed enough to make them healthy, sinewy, honest, intelligent villagers, any day able to earn their livelihood in the home of their parent's adoption, they will have their all-round education under the parental roof and withal they will be partly earning members of the family from the moment they reach the years of understanding and are able to use their hands and feet in a methodical manner. There is no school equal to a decent home and no teachers equal to honest virtuous parents. Modern high school education is a dead weight on the villagers. Their children will never be able to get it, and thank God they will never miss it if they have the training of the decent home. If the village worker is not a decent man or woman, capable of conducting a decent home, he or she had better not aspire after the high privilege and honour of becoming a village worker.

#### XLVII. SANCTIONS FOR SWARAJ

Of course, the Congress must possess a virile programme—"fighting" as well as constructive. Fighting the elections and the bureaucracy is but the least part of the "fight". The kind of political education which the country may be given by such fight is of secondary importance apart from a process being carried out simultaneously which really creates, develops and organises its fighting power. Apart from this process, and not as part and parcel of this process, the so-called fight in the polling booth or in the Council may even produce results contrary to those desired. It may actually distract, dissipate and weaken. By such a 'mock fight' alone you cannot create or earn the necessary sanctions for Swaraj. It is like providing thrills and excitements to a constitution with a weak heart and poor nerves. More attention should be paid to the building of the heart and nerves. This is not to say that you are to let alone the elections. There are fighters who fight their very best in the Councils and only their second best elsewhere. Others fight equally well when and so long as there is something like fight going on; but they cannot breathe their full anywhere behind the 'front', where reserves and supplies are stocked and developed, and where plans and preparations are made and perfected. For such of them we must

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ever-active heart-touch and soul-touch all round, before the process was disturbed and counteracted by some of the discordant modern factors. A Brahmin and a Chandala would not then usually mix in the sense we are now mixing in railway cars or even in restaurants. But both formed—in consciousness, feeling and action—members of one *family*. They shared their joys, and sorrows, and were united in life and death. One would not eat his meal allowing the other to stint or starve himself. One could not suffer without the other caring for him and looking after him. This is heart-touch. The touch of this touchstone had almost transmuted into gold the base metal of so-called untouchability in Bengal. We have lost the touchstone and are now throwing out the gold. In exchange for what? Let Dr. Ambedkar answer, if he will. Almost the same remarks will apply to the Hindu and his Moslem brother.

It is true that some sort of disturbance in the old, "happy" order was inevitable in any case under the action of the modern ferment which has stressed the rights more than the duties of every individual, group or community. We have now tasted the fruit of the forbidden tree and are smarting under a sense of injustice done to us; but the sense of injustice done *by* us has been comfortably kept in abeyance. In other words, we are not just as keen on what *we* owe to others as on what *others* owe to us. There has been too much ignorance and too much injustice for the old order to remain a permanent framework for adjustment. Still the old brand of cement that held together even "so much ignorance and injustice" in concord and peace was good. We are not sure that the new foreign brand will be better or even equally good when both ignorance and injustice are supposed to have been considerably lessened. As a matter of fact, a great deal of ignorance and injustice is sure to remain over after any deal in any case. An ethics of duty and service and not one of right and barter should prove our last solvent.

#### XLIX. THE FOUR-FOLD PROGRAMME

At the end of the General Introduction—in which we have, for reasons which need not here be set forth, mainly dealt in "pious generalities"—we can hardly undertake anything like a charting of a definite programme for our public bodies to follow. As to the general lines again, we may just conclude our remarks by saying that such a programme must be four-fold to cope with the actual reality and to be effective as a lead to what we aspire to make it. The four parts of the Plan are inter-dependent, and so, must be worked together. First, the Political Part. Politics is a modern obsession; still it is essential. It is essential even in the teeth of the dictum that a subject nation has no politics. It must learn to swim in political waters, placid or troubled, by actually being in them. Part of the political work will consist of election and Council work. But only the least part of it. The more vital part will consist of a ceaseless endeavour being made to teach the masses and classes to be self-reliant and to manage their own affairs as far as possible without let or hindrance; to promote a community of interests and a co-ordination of efforts; and by their combined pressure make the British people render unto us what is our just due. Not only what is called political consciousness, but also political

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# THE COUNCIL OF STATE

## LIST OF MEMBERS

*President :—THE HONOURABLE SIR  
MANECKJI BYRAMJI DADABHOY*

### *Nominated—(a) Officials—(11)*

1. HIS EXCELLENCY FIELD MARSHAL SIR PHILIP W. CHETWODE
2. THE HONOURABLE KUNWAR SIR JAGADISH PRASAD
3. THE HONOURABLE MR. T. A. STEWART
4. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. H. SPENCE
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10. THE HONOURABLE MR. J. N. G. JOINSON
11. THE HONOURABLE MR. P. NACQUEEN
12. THE HONOURABLE MR. T. M. Dow

### *From Berar—(1).*

THE HONOURABLE MR. GANESH SRIKRISHNA KHAPARDE

### *(b) Non-officials—(14).*

1. THE HONOURABLE SIR DAVID DEAVADOSS
2. THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BAHADUR SIR K. RAMUNNI MENON
3. THE HONOURABLE KHAN BAHADUR DR. SIR N. CHOKEY
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*Sir N. Choksy* wanted insertion of Dominion Status in the preamble of the Act.

Rai Bahadur *Mathra Prasad Mehrotra* said that the proposed scheme taken as a whole was very unsatisfactory and it was hedged in by numerous safeguards and reservations directed definitely against Indian interests making the position of legislatures illusory and shadowy. The future railway authority would be under the Governor-General and popular Ministers would have no voice in the matter. The scheme proposed was dictatorship and not self-government. He had not concluded when the House adjourned.

**14th. FEBRUARY** :—The Council of State to-day rejected *Lala Ramsaran Das's* motion of not accepting the proposed constitutional reforms, by 36 against 10 votes, and accepted by 32 to 14 votes Mr. *Yamin Khan's* motion, which would give a fair trial to the new reforms.

*Sir Phiroze Sethna's* amendment for modifications of the J. P. C. proposals was negatived without division.

The first part of Mr. *Ghaznafar Ali's* motion accepting the Communal Award, until a substitute was found was passed by 31 to 13 votes, whilst the other two parts of his amendments as regards the unsatisfactory character of the provincial scheme and the unacceptability of the Federal Scheme were rejected by 34 to 9 and 34 to 10 votes respectively. The three parts of his amendments like that of Mr. Jinnah's in the Assembly were voted on separately.

Mr. *Chari* then moved his amendment which ran into three clauses and on which debate was held separately according to the President's previous ruling.

The first clause stated that the council was opposed to the separation of Burma.

The second clause regretted that the council's recommendations made in the resolution of August 15 last regarding free entry of Indians into Burma and safeguards for Indians, Indian shipping and Indian companies on the same footing as British subjects and companies after separation has been ignored.

The third clause objected to the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary committee regarding the Governor-General's special responsibility as regards tariffs on Burmese goods, and the powers given to the Secretary of State to fix duties on goods imported and exported to and from India and Burma.

All the clauses were separately voted upon. The first clause was lost without a division and the second and the third were lost by 25 to 11 and 36 to 10 respectively.

Mr. *Yamin Khan's* motion for working the new reforms and Mr. *Ghaznafar Alikhan's* motion for accepting the Communal Award were then put to the vote together as a substantive motion and carried without a division. The House then adjourned till the 16th.

#### EXEMPTION OF CO-OP. SUGAR FACTORIES

**16th. FEBRUARY** :—*Rai Bahadur Mathuraprosad Mehrotra* to-day moved his resolution urging exemption of the sugar factories established on co-operative lines from excise duty. The mover stressed that as the co-operative sugar factories stood to better conditions of the agriculturists engaged in cane cultivation by giving them a better price and advancing loans to them without interest for developing the cultivation of cane, it was highly desirable to give some assistance to those factories. That would promote the co-operative movement in the country and benefit the agricultural masses.

Mr. *V. C. V. Gounder* and *Diwan Bahadur Chetty* supported the motion.

Mr. *Tallents*, replying, said that the revenue involved in the proposal was incon siderable, but the principle underlying was of great importance. Co-operative factories were receiving sufficient protection as other factories and as they were meant for mutual benefit and not for profit, they should not get this special concession, as in that case, they might come in competition with other factories and give them cause for legitimate grievances.

On the Home Secretary's assurance that the representations received in this connection through local Governments would be considered by the Government, Rai Bahadur *Mathra Prosad Mehrotra* withdrew the resolution. The House then adjourned till the 18th.

#### INDIAN NATURALIZATION ACT AMEND. BILL

**18th. FEBRUARY** :—*Sir Guthrie Russell*, Chief Commissioner of Railways, presented the railway budget after which on the motion of *M. G. Hallett*, Home Secretary, the Bill amending the Indian Naturalization Act as passed by the Assembly was passed.

*Sir N. Choksy* wanted insertion of Dominion Status in the preamble of the Act.

Rai Bahadur *Mathra Prasad Mehrotra* said that the proposed scheme taken as a whole was very unsatisfactory and it was hedged in by numerous safeguards and reservations directed definitely against Indian interests making the position of legislatures illusory and shadowy. The future railway authority would be under the Governor-General and popular Ministers would have no voice in the matter. The scheme proposed was dictatorship and not self-government. He had not concluded when the House adjourned.

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and said that something should be done to see that the agents of railways were more amenable to public criticisms.

Mr. E. Miller congratulated Sir Joseph Bhore and Sir Guthrie Russel on the financial result of the railways. Referring to tariffs, while he welcomed the forthcoming review of the classification of goods, he was concerned at the delay regarding the simplification of tariff. He wanted the non-official opinion of commerce and trade to be consulted in this matter and asked whether this would be done before the final report of the special committee was presented to the Government or after that. As regards the manipulation of railway freights in competition with carriage of goods by sea between Indian ports, Mr. Miller said that it was not only unfair but financially unsound, as it struck at the very lifeblood of ports which depended for their very existence upon the seaborne trade. Referring to the rail-road competition, Mr. Miller welcomed the recent efforts at co-ordination. He said that where roads existed which ran parallel to the railway these would have to be maintained up to a standard to carry motor transport and missing links should be joined up. Without these arterial roads it would be impossible to develop feeder roads to link up interior towns and villages with the railway. All railways should welcome the decision of the Transport Advisory Council which would bring increased freight to the railway system. In future, however, the construction of roads should not be carried out parallel with the railway lines except for short distances through towns and villages where necessary to connect up with railway stations. Similarly, new railway lines should not be constructed parallel to the existing roads. Here, Mr. Miller pointed out the necessity of a Ministry of Communications with a view to ensuring co-ordination. Alluding to the expenditure on the rolling stock, Mr. Miller considered it was too small. He regarded third class passengers as the most paying of travellers and wanted a scheme for the modernization of the rolling stock spread over a period of years. As for the ticketless traveller, Mr. Miller considered that action was urgent and suggested an amendment of section 113 of the Railways Act in the current session, imposing a deterrent penalty. Concluding, Mr. Miller paid a tribute to Sir Joseph Bhore for his broad vision and hoped that he would hold a further important office in another part of the empire.

Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das hoped that a Ministry of Transport would be established as early as possible. He criticised the restoration of the salary cut even in railways which were a commercial proposition and which were yet running at a deficit. He pointed out that if the salary cut had not been restored and the loss on strategic lines borne by the Army department the Railway Budget would have been balanced. It was not merely a matter of sentiment or accounting but a matter of commercial necessity if the railways were to be run on a business proposition. Proceeding, Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das said, that there should be no necessity of wagon construction for another year. As, however, construction had been sanctioned, he urged the authorities to see how far the carriage manufacturing industry in the country had benefitted by this new programme. He welcomed the reduction in coal surcharge but wished that this concession had been given an immediate effect. As regards the Muslim representation, the speaker complained that a bigger percentage had been given to them than the proportion allowed. (Several Muslim members interrupted but the President asked the speaker to proceed with his speech.) Concluding, Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das said that if the railways revised their policy of vending on railway stations they should not ignore the claims of those individual vendors who had been rendering service to the public for scores of years.

Sardar Buta Singh criticized the attempt that the railways in order to meet and remove road competition raised motor service into a monopoly. This was detrimental to the public interest. As regards the rolling stock, he did not see why railway workshops after nearly 100 years' experience should not produce all the requirements within the country itself. As they adopted the policy of standardization, this was much easier and such a course would be of great benefit for removing unemployment. Concluding, Sardar Buta Singh urged for greater co-operation among the railways and the local administrations to meet the traffic requirement.

Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad thought that the restoration of the salary cut was premature and unjustified. As regards the project on Kumaun railways he hoped that the Railway Board would take up the project at the early date. He complained of overcrowding in second class compartments and suggested certain improvements.

Mr. Jagadish Chandra Banerjee related at length the grievances of the third class travelling public and said: 'I know these will fall on deaf ears because the present railway administration in India is too wooden and too rotten from top to bottom,

and said that something should be done to see that the agents of railways were more amenable to public criticisms.

Mr. *E. Miller* congratulated Sir Joseph Bhore and Sir Guthrie Russel on the financial result of the railways. Referring to tariffs, while he welcomed the forthcoming review of the classification of goods, he was concerned at the delay regarding the simplification of tariff. He wanted the non-official opinion of commerce and trade to be consulted in this matter and asked whether this would be done before the final report of the special committee was presented to the Government or after that. As regards the manipulation of railway freights in competition with carriage of goods by sea between Indian ports, Mr. Miller said that it was not only unfair but financially unsound, as it struck at the very lifeblood of ports which depended for their very existence upon the seaborne trade. Referring to the rail-road competition, Mr. Miller welcomed the recent efforts at co-ordination. He said that where roads existed which ran parallel to the railway these would have to be maintained up to a standard to carry motor transport and missing links should be joined up. Without these arterial roads it would be impossible to develop feeder roads to link up interior towns and villages with the railway. All railways should welcome the decision of the Transport Advisory Council which would bring increased freight to the railway system. In future, however, the construction of roads should not be carried out parallel with the railway lines except for short distances through towns and villages where necessary to connect up with railway stations. Similarly, new railway lines should not be constructed parallel to the existing roads. Here, Mr. Miller pointed out the necessity of a Ministry of Communications with a view to ensuring co-ordination. Alluding to the expenditure on the rolling stock, Mr. Miller considered it was too small. He regarded third class passengers as the most paying of travellers and wanted a scheme for the modernization of the rolling stock spread over a period of years. As for the ticketless traveller, Mr. Miller considered that action was urgent and suggested an amendment of section 113 of the Railways Act in the current session, imposing a deterrent penalty. Concluding, Mr. Miller paid a tribute to Sir Joseph Bhore for his broad vision and hoped that he would hold a further important office in another part of the empire.

*Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das* hoped that a Ministry of Transport would be established as early as possible. He criticised the restoration of the salary cut even in railways which were a commercial proposition and which were yet running at a deficit. He pointed out that if the salary cut had not been restored and the loss on strategic lines borne by the Army department the Railway Budget would have been balanced. It was not merely a matter of sentiment or accounting but a matter of commercial necessity if the railways were to be run on a business proposition. Proceeding, *Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das* said; that there should be no necessity of wagon construction for another year. As, however, construction had been sanctioned, he urged the authorities to see how far the carriage manufacturing industry in the country had benefitted by this new programme. He welcomed the reduction in coal surcharge but wished that this concession had been given an immediate effect. As regards the Muslim representation, the speaker complained that a bigger percentage had been given to them than the proportion allowed. (Several Muslim members interrupted but the President asked the speaker to proceed with his speech.) Concluding, *Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das* said that if the railways revised their policy of vending on railway stations they should not ignore the claims of those individual vendors who had been rendering service to the public for scores of years.

*Sardar Buta Singh* criticized the attempt that the railways in order to meet and remove road competition raised motor service into a monopoly. This was detrimental to the public interest. As regards the rolling stock, he did not see why railway workshops after nearly 100 years' experience should not produce all the requirements within the country itself. As they adopted the policy of standardization, this was much easier and such a course would be of great benefit for removing unemployment. Concluding, *Sardar Buta Singh* urged for greater co-operation among the railways and the local administrations to meet the traffic requirement.

*Rai Bahadur Lala Jagdish Prasad* thought that the restoration of the salary cut was premature and unjustified. As regards the project on Kumaun railways he hoped that the Railway Board would take up the project at the early date. He complained of overcrowding in second class compartments and suggested certain improvements.

*Mr. Jagadish Chandra Banerjee* related at length the grievances of the third class travelling public and said: 'I know these will fall on deaf ears because the present railway administration in India is too wooden and too rotten from top to bottom,

given effect to. Then, again, there was the Skeen Committee's recommendation that 50 per cent. of India's Army was to be Indianised in 20 years? During the war India was left out 15,000 British soldiers. Now, in peace time, could they not arrange to reduce the strength from 60,000 to 30,000? This was his specific request.

Mr. *Hossain Imam* said that Government as well as the people were powerless with regard to the cost of defence and the strength of British soldiers in India, as these questions were determined by the War Office and the Committee of Imperial Defence. The army in India was used only for Imperial purposes, and an independent judge would never hold that the present strength was maintained in the interests of India. India was not in a position to dictate the nature of duty which the Indian army was to perform. The least she could urge was that the British Army be substantially replaced by Indian army. The speaker complained that at present recruitment was confined to the northwest corner of India. If the present ratio of two to one was altered, there would be a great saving in the army budget. He urged the Government to make a representation to His Majesty's Government that India was unable to bear the burden any longer. He disfavoured the idea that Indian armies should remain in Burma when Burma was separated from India.

The *Commander-in-Chief* spoke for half an hour opposing the resolution. He said that it was not in the power of the Government of India to recommend to His Majesty's Government that either the rate of Indianisation be increased or the proportion of British soldiers to Indian soldiers be reduced.

Proceeding, His Excellency referring to the argument that the air force could be strengthened to reduce the land forces said that other nations had practically retained the same force of ground troops as they did before the War. And other nations were in a much graver danger of war in the air than India.

Mr. *Hosain Imam* had referred to the bogey that the scale of India's army was dictated by His Majesty's Government especially by the Committee of Imperial Defence. Mr. Imam asked whether the report of the Export Committee on which the recent decision was taken would be published.

The *Commander-in-Chief*: No, I can't do that any more than I can publish the report of the Rawlinson Committee. Both are confidential. In fact the Indian members of the Government in 1922 wanted that the report not to be published.

*Rai Bahadur Mehrotra* briefly replied and the resolution was rejected by 26 votes to 15.

#### PREVENTION OF FOREIGN RICE IMPORT

**27th. FEBRUARY** :—The Council of State carried without division the resolution of Mr. *Narayanaswami Chetty* urging Government to take immediate steps to prevent the import of foreign rice into this country and adopt other substantial measures to improve the present low prices of rice with a view to alleviate the lot of agriculturists. The amendment of *Syed Hossain Imam* definitely suggesting the imposition of a prohibitive import duty was rejected by 28 against 11 votes. Several members including a few from Madras either voted against it or remained neutral.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**2nd. MARCH** :—The galleries were well occupied to hear the general discussion of the budget to-day.

*Sir Phiroze Sethna* said that he had received telegrams from the commercial communities of Bombay and Calcutta welcoming Sir James Grigg's first budget as a very favourable one. He, therefore, discounted the press opinions on the budget. Sir Phiroze Sethna suggested that the new Finance Member should take up the question of fixing the rate of exchange at a figure which would prove to be of interest to the taxpayer as well as the agriculturists. Whatever motives might be attributed to the allotment of one crore of rupees for village uplift, it was a welcome decision and the speaker hoped that the figure would increase annually (hear, hear). Discussing the surcharge and income tax, Sir P. Sethna wished the reduction of the surcharge had been half instead of one-third and as regards the salary cut he wished it had been 2 and a half per cent this year with a definite promise of complete removal next year. Incidentally, he referred to the interest on Government Paper and said that 3 and a half per cent. was popular and should remain so on irredeemable scrips. Several charitable organisations, including the Indian Research Fund Association, had invested their money in these papers and he hoped this rate would not be reduced. Generally speaking, the income tax and super-tax were higher in India than in any other country, except perhaps England, and this was the testimony of several life insurance com-

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non-official committee of both the Houses. As regards the money to be spent on broadcasting, he asked whether the broadcasting programme would be for the benefit of the rich, or the poor. If for the rich he would oppose it. Similarly the salary cuts should have been restored in the case of the poorly paid officials.

*Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsarandas* said that on the whole it was a disappointing budget. It was proposed to give the much needed succour to the agriculturists, but the greatest factor which worked against them, namely, the 1-6 ratio remained unaltered. He wanted a thorough overhauling of salaries of superior services.

The *Commander-in-Chief* intervened by a brief speech regarding the military expenditure. He was surprised at the non-official members saying that the military budget instead of decreasing had slightly increased. Sir Philip Chetwode said : "To such members I have to say that we have never concealed for a moment the fact that during the last three or four years we had a forced budget, a budget to meet emergency and we were then enabled by a fall in commodity prices. Now there is some rise in commodity prices, and naturally it affects the budget. India is fortunate in that she is the only country where the military budget has not gone up anything by two to five times what it was before the War. On the contrary we have made permanent reductions. The budgets during the last few years were made not only to meet emergency crisis, but also as genuine attempts to reduce cost. In fact in regard to repairs to buildings and stores and ordinances, we kept things at a dangerous level."

*Srijut H. P. Barua* said that his province was in difficulties due to unfair treatment by the Central Government. While Assam was made to pay heavily to the Central Government under the Meston Award and for the defence of the Frontier, it lost revenues from its best sources of revenue, namely, excise duty on petrol and oil.

Mr. P. C. Tallents, Finance Secretary, in the absence of Sir James Grigg wound up the debate. He expressed cordial sympathy with the members for their want of time in studying the budget papers. He promised to keep in mind their complaint in future years in fixing the date. Regarding the allocation of one crore for village uplift work, the speaker said the Government's idea was to examine every scheme that might be submitted by provincial Governments and so he assured the Council there was no prospect of money being wasted. The Council adjourned till 7th. March.

#### PROTECTION TO WHEAT GROWERS

**7th. MARCH:**—Three non-official resolutions, and one Bill were on the order paper when the Council of State reassembled after five days' recess.

Mr. Yamin Khan moved the first resolution recommending continuance of protection to wheat growers by (a) extending the period of import duty on foreign wheat and (b) reducing the railway freight on wheat from U. P. and the Punjab to the ports of Karachi, Bombay and Calcutta. He said that unless the prices of wheat were kept high, the prices of other commodities would fall, thus causing further hardship on the producers.

Sir Guthrie Russell said that the Government realised the very great importance of cheap railway freight to wheat and other food grains, not only for the agricultural population but for the country at large, but the resolution as it stood suggested protection being given by reduction in the freight charges on wheat. Sir Guthrie Russell continuing said that he did not imply that the railways were always averse to rate reduction. They were prepared to make reduction if by so doing they could increase the traffic. He, therefore, advised Mr. Yamin Khan to withdraw his resolution.

Mr. Yamin Khan replying to the debate said that in view of the promise of Mr. Stuart to make an announcement regarding the first part of the resolution at an early date and since the second part of the resolution was merely a corollary to the first part, he wanted to withdraw the resolution.

The opposition members, however, opposed the withdrawal.

The *President* thereupon announced that he in exercise of his discretionary powers, he would split the resolution in two parts. He put to the House the first part relating to the extension of the Wheat Import Duty Act. The Government supported the members who insisted on division which resulted in the motion being passed by 34 votes to nil. Four members remained neutral, when the second part of the resolution relating to reduction of freight was put to vote. Government opposed it. The House again divided and the motion was defeated by 21 votes against 8.

#### INDIAN MERCANTILE MARINE

*Rai Bahadur Lala Jagadish Prasad* moved the next resolution recommending to the Governor-General to take suitable steps to build up an Indian mercantile marine

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and reduction of marriage expenses. But Sir Phiroze did not agree with the mover of the resolution that the development of cottage industries, a five year plan of economic reconstruction and establishment of industries could be undertaken on an extensive scale by the Central Government. These should be undertaken more by provincial governments. But funds were not easily available. The mover had suggested the raising of loans. But the taxpayer had to pay interest on loans.

#### ALIGARH UNIVERSITY ACT AMEND. BILL

**14th. MARCH:**—In the Council of State to-day, Sir *Fazli Hosain* introduced the Bill to amend the Aligarh Muslim University Act whereby the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor shall be permissive, and not obligatory. By this arrangement it will be possible for the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor to be filled at a time when the University considers such action to be desirable, but the University will not be compelled (as now) to fill the post at a time when the Pro-Vice-Chancellor does not appear to be required.

#### SAIYID MOSLEMS IN ARMY

*Raja Ghaznafar Khan* moved a resolution, urging the removal of the restrictions which had been placed on the enlistment of the Saiyid Community. *Raja Ghaznafarali Khan* said that he was not asking for any favours to be shown to the Saiyids in the Army, but demanded that the restrictions of disqualifications against them should be removed. He pointed out there should be a soldier's board in every district in the Punjab and various Muslim organisations had passed resolutions to this effect. As for the restrictions, the speaker said that the Army Department issued in 1924 a confidential circular to the recruiting officer of Rawalpindi that the Saiyids should no longer be recruited under the head "Punjab Mussalmans".

The *Commander-in-Chief* said that Raja Ghaznafar's enlistment of the Saiyids had no relation to facts for there had been no restrictions placed on their enlistment by the Army Headquarters. The general policy regarding recruitment was to prescribe an area in which Punjab Muslims were recruited for any one particular unit but there was no restrictions whatsoever as to any particular class. The discretion as to the sub-classes was left to the Commanding Officers who were free to decide whom they should recruit. The units naturally selected recruits from those sub-classes which had done their best in the past. Every sub-class had thus an opportunity to prove its worth as any other. The number of the sub-classes depended on how far they proved themselves desirable from the point of view of unit control. Concluding Sir Philip Chetwode said that if Raja Ghaznafar would send him any letter issued from the Army Headquarters directly giving his orders that this particular class of Saiyids should be restricted in enlistment he would see that the officer who issued it was adequately dealt with.

Raja Ghaznafar withdrew the resolution and hoped that, as military officers generally did not read newspapers, their attention should be drawn by the Army Headquarters to the Commander-in-Chief's statement that there was no restriction to the recruitment of the Saiyids.

#### KHEWRA SALT RANGE

**18th. MARCH:**—Resuming the discussion on his resolution moved on March 13 urging a Committee of Enquiry into the damage caused by Khewra Salt Range in the Punjab to the neighbouring lands and the villages, Raja Ghaznafar Ali stressed the damage done to the neighbouring lands through sanitation of a very great affected area extending about 50 miles. People living there were extremely loyal to the Government and desisted from starting undesirable agitation despite unspeakable hardships. Although a greater amount of damage could not be attributed directly to the working of the Khewra Salt mines, still it was the moral duty of the Government of India, who collected over fifty lakhs annually from this source, to make a substantial contribution to improve the area.

Raja Ghaznafar Ali concluded stressing the need for appointing at least an official committee, presided over by the Finance Member.

Mr. P C. Tallents opposed the resolution as the Government did not admit that the damage in the neighbourhood of Khewra was due to the way in which the salt mines were worked. There was no cultivable land within about one and half miles of the mine. The Commissioner of Northern India Salt Revenue Department had stated he had received no complaint from the villagers. Mr. Tallents referred to the discussions held on the subject since 1926, and pointed out how in one of them Raja Ghaznafar Ali did not press the matter. Mr. Brayne, whom Raja Gaznafar Ali had mentioned, also did not think that the working of the mines could produce sanitation

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Mr. P. N. Sapru moved an amendment that the matter be brought forward after the publication of the Tariff Board report on glass industry of India. He added that, though the report was submitted in 1932, it had not been published so far, with the result that the industry was suffering by reason of Japanese competition.

Mr. Mitchell said that the report was still under the careful consideration of the Government and would be published as soon as possible.

Mr. Sapru withdrew the amendment and Mr. Mitchell's original resolution was adopted.

#### UNEMPLOYED RELIEF

Mr. Mitchell moved another resolution urging non-ratification of the draft convention ensuring benefit or allowances to the involuntarily unemployed and also urging non-acceptance of the recommendations concerning unemployment insurance and various other forms of relief for the unemployed adopted by the International Labour Conference at its eighteenth session.

Mr. Sapru moved an amendment, urging the Government to take such steps, legislative or otherwise, for the relief of the unemployed as would lead to a ratification of the draft convention and acceptance of the recommendations as soon as practicable. He emphasised that such legislation was long overdue and that at least a modest beginning in the protected organised industries should be made by introducing the scheme of unemployment insurance.

Mr. Mitchell, replying, contended that the conditions at present in India would not justify ratification of the Convention. It would be impossible for the Government to create such industrial conditions as would make it easier for the introduction of unemployment relief schemes, but if those were created by the industries themselves then the Government would consider the possibility of taking suitable action.

Mr. Sapru's amendment was rejected by 26 votes to 8 and Mr. Mitchell's resolution was adopted without a division. The Council then adjourned.

#### TARIFF & TEA CESS ACTS AMENDING BILLS

**8th. APRIL** :—The secretary presented the Bills amending the Tariff Act and the Tea Cess Act as passed by the Assembly, after which Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, President read the following message from the Governor-General :—‘I send herewith my certificate and recommendation of the Indian Finance Bill, 1935, which the Legislative Assembly has failed to pass in the form recommended by me.’

The secretary then laid on the table the Finance Bill which had been certified by the Governor-General ‘as essential in the interests of British India’.

#### WHEAT & RICE DUTY BILL

**10th. APRIL** :—In the Council of State to-day Mr. T. A. Stewart moved that the Bill amending the Indian Tariff Act (Wheat and Rice Duty Bill) as passed by the Assembly be taken into consideration. He repeated what Sir Joseph Bhore had stated in the Assembly. The position of Indian wheat, he said, vis-a-vis Australian wheat which to-day was 15 annas per cwt. was better than the price of 1931. Therefore the reduction of eight annas in the duty would still give Indian wheat an advantage over Australian wheat.

As regards rice, he said, that the duty had been imposed on broken rice which had been found to be a real danger against Indian rice. He assured the Council that if after sometime it was found that the duties required to be raised in the interests of India, they would be raised by the Governor-General by notification.

Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das agreed that the duty of Rs. 1-8 proposed in the Bill was sufficient, but the duty on flour was small and requested Government to come to the rescue of Indian flour mills in view of the dumping of foreign flour in India. The Bill was passed.

#### TEA CESS BILL

Mr. T. A. Stewart moved that the Bill amending the Indian Tea Cess Act, as passed by the Assembly, be taken into consideration. He said that the international tea control scheme, now into operation, did not provide a solution of the problem of disposal of the excess stocks of tea in India, but as India had a large potential market it was intended to sell the excess tea by conducting a propaganda. For this purpose the Bill proposed to increase the tea cess collected on the export of tea from eight annas to twelve annas per hundred pounds.

The motion for consideration was passed as also the Bill in the shape it emerged from the Assembly.

Mr. P. N. Sapru moved an amendment that the matter be brought forward after the publication of the Tariff Board report on glass industry of India. He added that, though the report was submitted in 1932, it had not been published so far, with the result that the industry was suffering by reason of Japanese competition.

Mr. Mitchell said that the report was still under the careful consideration of the Government and would be published as soon as possible.

Mr. Sapru withdrew the amendment and Mr. Mitchell's original resolution was adopted.

#### UNEMPLOYED RELIEF

Mr. Mitchell moved another resolution urging non-ratification of the draft convention ensuring benefit or allowances to the involuntarily unemployed and also urging non-acceptance of the recommendations concerning unemployment insurance and various other forms of relief for the unemployed adopted by the International Labour Conference at its eighteenth session.

Mr. Sapru moved an amendment, urging the Government to take such steps, legislative or otherwise, for the relief of the unemployed as would lead to a ratification of the draft convention and acceptance of the recommendations as soon as practicable. He emphasised that such legislation was long overdue and that at least a modest beginning in the protected organised industries should be made by introducing the scheme of unemployment insurance.

Mr. Mitchell, replying, contended that the conditions at present in India would not justify ratification of the Convention. It would be impossible for the Government to create such industrial conditions as would make it easier for the introduction of unemployment relief schemes, but if those were created by the industries themselves then the Government would consider the possibility of taking suitable action.

Mr. Sapru's amendment was rejected by 26 votes to 8 and Mr. Mitchell's resolution was adopted without a division. The Council then adjourned.

#### TARIFF & TEA CESS ACTS AMENDING BILLS

**8th. APRIL** :—The secretary presented the Bills amending the Tariff Act and the Tea Cess Act as passed by the Assembly, after which Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, President read the following message from the Governor-General :—‘I send herewith my certificate and recommendation of the Indian Finance Bill, 1935, which the Legislative Assembly has failed to pass in the form recommended by me.’

The secretary then laid on the table the Finance Bill which had been certified by the Governor-General ‘as essential in the interests of British India’.

#### WHEAT & RICE DUTY BILL

**10th. APRIL** :—In the Council of State to-day Mr. T. A. Stewart moved that the Bill amending the Indian Tariff Act (Wheat and Rice Duty Bill) as passed by the Assembly be taken into consideration. He repeated what Sir Joseph Bhore had stated in the Assembly. The position of Indian wheat, he said, vis-a-vis Australian wheat which to-day was 15 annas per cwt. was better than the price of 1931. Therefore the reduction of eight annas in the duty would still give Indian wheat an advantage over Australian wheat.

As regards rice, he said, that the duty had been imposed on broken rice which had been found to be a real danger against Indian rice. He assured the Council that if after sometime it was found that the duties required to be raised in the interests of India, they would be raised by the Governor-General by notification.

Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das agreed that the duty of Rs. 1-8 proposed in the Bill was sufficient, but the duty on flour was small and requested Government to come to the rescue of Indian flour mills in view of the dumping of foreign flour in India. The Bill was passed.

#### TEA CESS BILL

Mr. T. A. Stewart moved that the Bill amending the Indian Tea Cess Act, as passed by the Assembly, be taken into consideration. He said that the international tea control scheme, now into operation, did not provide a solution of the problem of disposal of the excess stocks of tea in India, but as India had a large potential market it was intended to sell the excess tea by conducting a propaganda. For this purpose the Bill proposed to increase the tea cess collected on the export of tea from eight annas to twelve annas per hundred pounds.

The motion for consideration was passed as also the Bill in the shape it emerged from the Assembly.

regard for the maintenance of law and order felt that firing was excessive and they were not questioning the legitimacy of the Government taking adequate even forcible preventive measures in a difficult occasion, but that they genuinely felt that the precautions taken in Karachi were insufficient and required to be thoroughly enquired into.

*Sir Henry Craik* gave reasons why the Government decided not to hold an enquiry. He said that Mr. Hussain Imam's speech provided one argument against the enquiry, namely, that Mr. Hussain Imam had already made up his mind that the Government had first fomented trouble and then fired on a defenceless mob to establish another Jallianwala Bagh. Answering Mr. Mehrotra's points, the Home Member said that the nature of the area round the graveyard proved that it was perfectly useless for the police to attempt to disperse the mob. Secondly, the fact that only two rounds were fired by each soldier at a time when the mob was practically on the top of them showed that minimum firing had been used. Sir Henry recalled the story of Delhi riots of 1927. In this case, concluded *Sir Henry*, a most careful enquiry had shown that no mistake was made in handling this most deplorable and unfortunate incident. Moreover the Government were convinced that it would be impossible within a reasonable space of time to establish an atmosphere of impartiality and communal cordiality in which alone such an enquiry could successfully function.

The debate was talked out and the House adjourned.

#### DEBATE ON THE FINANCE BILL

**11th. APRIL :**—The certified Finance Bill was discussed in the Council to-day when the non-official attendance was fair.

With a brief speech Mr. P. C. Tallents, Finance Secretary, moved the second reading of the Bill. He referred to the delay in the passage of the Bill in the Lower House and drew attention to the crop of amendments now tabled.

Pandit P. N. Sapru entered a protest against the procedure adopted by Government regarding the Bill and wondered what effect the speeches in the Council would have on it. The fiat had gone forth that the Bill should become a law of the land.

*Pandit Sapru*, proceeding, refused to share the responsibility for a certified bill and laid the responsibility for the deadlock created over it on the shoulders of Government. He contended that Government could have postponed the restoration of the salary cut and made a permanent surplus or have utilised the revenue surplus of 1934-35 for reducing the burden of taxation as desired by the Lower House. Or better still Government could have convened a conference with the party leaders in both Houses and accepted the most essential demands before resorting to certification.

Government had instead ignored the views of every party, whether obstructive or non-obstructive, including even the European group, and thus encouraged disbelief in constitutional action and Parliamentary methods of Government.

Coming to the Finance Bill the speaker wanted the reduction of the salt duty and exemption of tax on incomes below two thousand and reduction of postal rates. If the Finance Member was not prepared to accept these suggestions, they would have no alternative but to vote against the Bill at this stage and at subsequent stages.

Sir N. N. Sircar, Law Member, rose to remove the impression created by Pandit P. N. Sapru's speech that Government had intended a slight on this Council by adopting the procedure of certification. He gave the instances of recommendation and certification resorted to since 1923 in regard to the Finance Bill and in the case of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill in 1925. Any other course would, Sir N. N. Sircar maintained, have led to a further waste of time and further necessity of feelings. Referring to Pandit Sapru's remark about Sir James Grigg's speech in the Assembly, *Sir N. N. Sircar* said that Sir James Grigg had never refused to accept the decision of the Assembly because the Opposition was prompted by methods of obstruction. On the other hand, Sir James Grigg had made it clear that he was not accepting the decisions of the Assembly because, in his opinion, they were unjust on the merits of the case. On the question of cooperation Sir N. N. Sircar advised Pandit Sapru to read the speech of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai that the British Rule ruined India and therefore the Opposition there would not do anything to help that rule (the present Government of India). The sole desire of the Opposition in the Assembly was to create situations which would render resort to emergency powers necessary and that in the name of "exposing the naked autocracy of the Government".

Mr. S. D. Gladstone (Bengal Chamber of Commerce) supported the motion for the consideration of the certified Finance Bill. But he criticised the Government attitude in not accepting any of the amendments adopted by the Lower House. Sir James

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*Mr. P. C. Tallents*, Finance Secretary, replying to the debate answered the points raised by Syed Hossain Imam. He pointed out that the control of the currency was now in the hands of the Reserve Bank. He expected the rate of interest on Government Provident Fund next year would be lower than this year. There was no need for more silver being in possession of Government as they already had ninety crores worth of silver and that was why sales of silver were taking place.

The Finance Secretary's motion for consideration of the certified Finance Bill was passed, ten members of mostly of the Progressive Party opposing it, two members (Syed Mahomed Padshah and Mr. Mahmud Suhrawardy) remaining neutral and thirty members voting for it.

*Rai Bahadur Ramsaran Das* then made a statement as leader of the Progressive Party. He said : "The Bill is a certified and recommended one. Under the present Government of India Act it cannot be changed even by the Governor-General unless he is prepared to withdraw the present Bill and introduce a fresh measure. We shall take no further part in the discussion of the Bill. We shall of course record our vote against it at all stages."

Accordingly no amendment was moved and in less than two minutes all the clauses to the Bill with schedules were put and carried, about ten members crying dissent every time.

On the third reading of the Bill as recommended by the Governor-General thirty-two members voted for and ten against.

*Raja Ghaznafar Ali* voted against the motion for consideration but voted for the passage of the Bill.

*Mr. Mahmud Suhrawardy* who remained neutral in the second reading voted for the passage of the Bill.

The Council at this stage adjourned.

#### SALT IMPORT DUTY ACT

**17th. APRIL :**—*Mr. P. C. Tallents* moved consideration of the Bill further to extend the operation of the Salt (Additional) Import Duty Act of 1931. He said that it merely extended the operation of the existing Act for one more year without prejudice to any of the interests concerned. If any representation was received on the subject during this year it would receive full consideration.

After adopting a motion conveying message of loyalty to H. M. the King, the Council adjourned *sine die*.

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FAZL-I-HAQ
- 74 KHAN BAHADUR MAKHDUM  
SAYAD RAJAN BAKSH SHAH
- 75 SARDAR MANGAL SINGH
- 76 SARDAR SANT SINGH
- 77 M. GHIASUDDIN ESQ
- (6) *Bihar and Orissa*—12
- 78 SATYA NARAYAN SINHA ESQ
- 79 B. B. VARMA
- 80 B. DAS ESQ
- 81 PANDIT NILKANTHA DAS
- 82 ANUGRAHA NARAYAN SINGH
- 83 SHRI KRISHNA SINHA
- 84 DEEP NARAYAN SINGH
- 85 BABU RAM NARAYAN SINGH
- 86 MUHAMMAD NOUMAN ESQ
- 87 MOULVI BADIUZ ZAMAN
- 88
- 89 RAJA BAHADUR HARIHAR  
PROSAD NARAYAN SINHA
- (7) *Central Provinces*—5
- 90 DR NARAYAN BHASKAR  
KHARE
- 91 SETH GOVIND DAS
- 92 GHANSIAMSINGH  
GUPTA ESQ
- 93 KHAN SAHIB NAWAB SIDDIQUE  
ALI KHAN
- 94 SETH SHEODAS DAGA
- (8) *Assam*—4
- 95 SRIJUT NABIN CHANDRA  
BARDOLOI
96. BASANTA KUMAR DAS
97. ABDUL MATIN CHOUDHURY
98. F. W. HOCKENHULL
- (9) *Burma*—4
99. U THEIN MAUNG
100. DR. THEIN MAUNG
101. U BA SI
102. F. BURTON LEACH
- (10) *Delhi*—1
103. M. ASAFAI
- (11) *Ajmer-Merwara*—1
104. RAI BAHADUR SETH BHAGCHAND  
SONI
- (12) *North-West Frontier Province*—1
105. DR. KHAN SAHIB  
Nominated—(40)—Berar—1
106. M. S. ANEY
- (a) *Officials*—(26).
107. THE HONOURABLE  
NRIPENDRA SARCAR

SIR

108. THE HONOURABLE SIR PERCY  
JAMES GRIGG
109. THE HONOURABLE SIR HENRY  
CRAIK
110. THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAM-  
MAD ZAFRULLA KHAN
111. THE HONOURABLE MR. D. G.  
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112. SIR LANCELOT GRAHAM
113. SIR GIRJA SANKAR BAJPAI
114. G. R. F. TOTTENHAM
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120. K. SANJIVA ROW
121. M. R. RY. RAO BAHADUR A. A.  
VENKATARAMA AYYAR AVARGAL
122. M. R. RY. DIWAN BAHADUR  
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127. L. OWEN
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AZIZ
129. P. P. SINHA
130. D. J. N. LEE
131. S. P. DESAI
132. TOM LISTER
- (b) *Non-officials*—(13)
133. SARDAR BAHADUR SARDAR SIR  
JAWAHAR SINGH
134. RAI BAHADUR SIR SATYA  
CHARAN MUKHERJEE
135. RAO BAHADUR M. C. RAJAH
136. R. S. SARMA
137. N. M. JOSHI
138. DR. R. D. DALAL
139. DR. FRANCIS XAVIER DESOUZA
140. HONY. CAPTAIN RAO BAHADUR  
CH. LAL CHAND
141. CAPTAIN SARDAR SHER MOHAM-  
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142. MAJOR NAWAB AHMAD NAWAZ  
KHAN
143. KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB MALIK  
ALLAH BAKHSH KHAN TIWANA
144. E. H. M. BOWER
145. J. H. BLACKWELL
- Deputy President*—AKHIL CHANDRA  
DATTA
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D. DUTT

73. KHAN SAHIB SHAIKH FAZL-I-HAQ  
 74. KHAN BAHADUR MAKHDUM SAYAD RAJAN BAKSH SHAH  
 75. SARDAR MANGAL SINGH  
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 77. M. GHIASUDDIN ESQ  
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Government of India and the Bengal Government, Mr. Bose had been still detained under regulation III. The mover asked—under what law was he summoned to attend the Assembly? The Regulation III was enacted by the Government of India, but how could it supersede a Parliamentary Act? Under the provision of the Government of India Act, he was called upon to join the Assembly duties, but the Government of Bengal set it at naught. Could the Bengal Government do that, and if so, under what law, asked the mover. Proceeding, Mr. Bardoloi said when a man was detained on suspicion, he sometimes was allowed to live as a free man in another province. The speaker did not understand why it was not possible in Mr. Bose's case. What would be the harm if he was permitted to come to Delhi and perform duties as a member of the Assembly?

Sir Nripen Sircar, the Law Member, said in reply :—

Sir N. N. Sircar said that the question of privileges had been raised. According to Maye's Parliamentary Practices it had been laid down over and over again that no subordinate legislature created by the Imperial Statute enjoyed the powers and privileges beyond those given by the Statute.

Sir Cowasji—Then does it mean that we have no privileges above those of ordinary citizens?

Sir N. N. Sircar—The Act has conferred the right of freedom of speech to members and as a result of the Muddiman Committee Enquiry an amending Statute was passed giving members immunity from arrest in certain circumstances. That amendment showed that any privileges to be acquired must be sanctioned by the Statute and the British Parliament's privileges based on custom did not accrue to a subordinate legislature.

The Law Member proceeded to add that if Mr. Bose thought that his personal rights had been infringed under circumstances, it was open to him to move the court for redress. He also denied that the summons of the Governor-General had any legal force: it was merely an invitation to attend.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai ably contested the position as taken up by the Law Member. We would, however, only refer to the summary of his arguments as given in p. 108. He distinguished between two kinds of privileges—those of the House and those of an individual member.

"The privilege of a member was implicit and inherent in the very position to which he had been elected under an Act of Parliament."

The motion was carried by 64 votes as against 58—the first Congress victory.

Sir Abdar Rahim was elected President of the Assembly by 70 votes as against 62 secured by the rival Congress candidate.

On January 24, His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the House. The speech traversed a very wide ground beginning with King's Jubilee Fund, and such vital matters as Indians in South Africa, India's Educational System, Agricultural Research, Dairy Industry, Sugar, Telephone and Air Transport, Labour Legislation, Exchange etc. As regards Indo-British Trade Agreement, we shall do well to quote H. E.'s observations :—

As hon'ble members of this House are no doubt aware, the trade agreement between India and the United Kingdom which was concluded at Ottawa in 1932 related only to such goods as were subject to non-protective or non-concessional rates of duty. There was signed on the 9th of this month a supplementary Agreement between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, which covers the important field of protected commodities which was left untouched by the main Agreement of 1932. It is in the nature of things that the later Agreement should differ in its character from the earlier one. It relates not so much to the tariff treatment of specific commodities as to the general principles governing the exercise of our present policy of discriminating protection. It is the hope of my Government that the clear and unequivocal statement of the tariff policy contained in

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"The privilege of a member was implicit and inherent in the very position to which he had been elected under an Act of Parliament."

The motion was carried by 64 votes as against 58—the first Congress victory.

Sir Abdar Rahim was elected President of the Assembly by 70 votes as against 62 secured by the rival Congress candidate.

On January 24, His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the House. The speech traversed a very wide ground beginning with King's Jubilee Fund, and such vital matters as Indians in South Africa, India's Educational System, Agricultural Research, Dairy Industry, Sugar, Telephone and Air Transport, Labour Legislation, Exchange etc. As regards Indo-British Trade Agreement, we shall do well to quote H. E.'s observations :—

As hon'ble members of this House are no doubt aware, the trade agreement between India and the United Kingdom which was concluded at Ottawa in 1932 related only to such goods as were subject to non-protective or non-concessional rates of duty. There was signed on the 9th of this month a supplementary Agreement between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, which covers the important field of protected commodities which was left untouched by the main Agreement of 1932. It is in the nature of things that the later Agreement should differ in its character from the earlier one. It relates not so much to the tariff treatment of specific commodities as to the general principles governing the exercise of our present policy of discriminating protection. It is the hope of my Government that the clear and unequivocal statement of the tariff policy contained in

## INTRODUCTION

There were altogether 4 divisions. The second part of Mr. Desai's amendment neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Award, which he moved as an amendment to the first part of Mr. Jinnah's amendment was lost by 84 to 44 votes.

The first part of Mr. Jinnah's amendment accepting the Communal Award was carried by 68 to 15 votes, Congressmen remaining neutral. The second and third parts of Mr. Jinnah's amendment re : Provincial Autonomy and Federation were passed by 74 votes to 58 votes.

The Congress Nationalist Party, headed by Mr. Aney, took an uncompromisingly hostile attitude in relation to the Communal Award and the Congress attitude of neutrality ("neither accept nor reject") in relation to it.

We need not in particular refer to the Non-official Bills introduced, but pass on at once to the Budget. On P. 132 begins an account of the discussions on the Railway Budget for 1935-36 presented by Sir Joseph Bhore. "For 1935-36 budget anticipates deficit on commercial and strategic lines taken together of nearly 2 crores...the commercial lines alone show a balanced budget." The general position was thus envisaged by Sir Joseph :—

That the results of last year and the estimates he was placing before the Assembly had justified his optimism and the confidence expressed by him in previous years in the essential strength and soundness of the financial position of Indian Railways notwithstanding successive deficits since 1930-31. He said :—

"A review of results, if it is to be of any value, must extend over a sufficiently lengthy period to eliminate the distorting effects of temporary causes and give a true picture of the whole. Taking broad results, it will be seen that in the 17 years ending with 1935-36, 6 years of prosperity and 6 of the adverse, the net result of the working of all State-owned lines, commercial and strategic, will, if my present estimates prove correct, be a surplus of 14 crores and an accumulated balance in the depreciation fund of 41 and half crores. In other words, during the long period of varying future, we shall have earned a net income of over a crore a year after meeting working expenses, providing for accruing depreciation and paying interest in full on borrowed capital."

Works programme for 1935-36 is bigger than in recent years. Total sum provided is 15 crores after allowing for reduction of stores balances by three-fourth crore.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai who carried his motion reducing to one rupee the estimates for the Railway Board, said :—

"That the present Railway Board had outlived its usefulness and the other machinery must be set up. "We Indians," he declared, "manage these railway and we insist on our claim to manage them and determine their policy." Mr. Desai directed his attack to the proposed Statutory Railway authority.

On Feb. 28, Sir James Grigg introduced the Financial Statement for 1935-36. See p. 143 and following for estimated Revenue and Expenditure under different heads.

The final position for 1935-36 is thus as follows :—

Revenue	90.19 lakhs
Expenditure	84.80 "
Surplus	1.50 lakhs

Then the Finance Member proceeds to explain his proposals for dealing with the surplus of 1.50 lacs anticipated in 1935-36 and with the accrued balance of 3.89 lacs left over from previous years.

We need not say anything here on the general discussion on the budget. One or two typical lines of criticism may, however, be indicated. Thus Mr. H. P. Mody

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On Feb. 28, Sir James Grigg introduced the Financial Statement for 1935-36. See p. 143 and following for estimated Revenue and Expenditure under different heads.

The final position for 1935-36 is thus as follows :—

Revenue	80,10 lakhs
Expenditure	88,60 "
Surplus	1,50 lakhs

Then the Finance Member proceeds to explain his proposals for dealing with the surplus of 1,50 lacs anticipated in 1935-36 and with the accrued balance of 3,89 lacs left over from previous years.

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# The Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—New Delhi—21st. January to 9th. April 1935

## Govt. & MAHATMA'S VILLAGE SCHEME\*

Scenes reminiscent of the old Swarajist days minus the presence of outstanding stalwarts like Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. V. J. Patel were witnessed at New Delhi on the 21st. January 1935 when Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and his party in white Gandhi caps as also other members of the House took the oath on the opening day of the first session of the fifth Legislative Assembly under the Montford constitution. Sir Henry Gidney, nominated by the Viceroy as Chairman pending the presidential election, was in the chair. Mr. Satyamurthi's adjournment motion introduced to censure the Government of India for the issue of a circular\* in connection with Mahatma Gandhi's Village Industries Association was accepted by the Chairman, Sir Henry Gidney. Sir Henry Craik did not deny the issue of a circular and, on behalf of the Government, welcomed a debate.

After a heated debate the motion was talked out, the Chairman having refused to apply the closure asked for by the Congress and Nationalist members.

In the course of the debate Mr. Satyamurthi quoted extracts from the circular and contended that it betrayed an amount of suspicion unworthy of any decent Government. He criticised the attitude of the Government which was never tired of asking the people to co-operate with the Government in working for the masses and when popular leaders attempted to throw themselves seriously in work they would suspect their move and order Government officials not to give co-operation to them. It would be impossible to carry on any work in India if the Government were to judge popular leaders not by what they said and did but what they imagined to be the motives of leaders.

The assumptions underlying the circular were either untrue or misleading or exaggerated. It was clear that the Government had expected Bombay Congress to split on the Council-entry programme the Nationalist Party move of Pandit Malaviya, the Socialist programme and lastly on Mahatma Gandhi's retirement from the Congress. On all these the Government to their surprise found the Congress did not split but on the other hand found the Congress by the changes made in its constitution that it was better equipped to carry on political or Parliamentary work. And then it feared that the Congress would by the Village Industries Association identify themselves with the masses. The circular proceeds to give instructions to frustrate it. Mr. Gandhi had affirmed that the village industries work was non-political but the Government through the circular most unjustly and unfairly attributed a motive. The circular proceeded to state that Mahatma Gandhi had succeeded to bring divergent elements if not under one organisation at least under one leader.

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\*According to the Bombay correspondent of the "Hindustan Times" the Government of India took a serious view of Gandhiji's programme of rural uplift through the recently formed Village Industries Association and that they also issued circulars to their officers throughout India directing that every effort should be made to fore-stall Congress activities. He stated on reliable authority that the Government of India had communicated to the British Government that the new programme adopted by the Congress of organising village industries coupled with parliamentary work was nothing but an astute move on the part of Mahatma Gandhi to find employment for his men and to regain the prestige lost by the failure of Civil Disobedience movement. It was also represented by the Government to be a well laid plot to revive civil resistance on an unprecedented scale with the support of the rural masses which had been lacking in former campaigns. The circular was said to represent the Bombay Session of the Congress as the greatest personal triumph Mahatma Gandhi had ever had. The correspondent concluded: "What the circular will ultimately lead to is as yet too early perhaps to say. But as it is also said to emphasise the need for an effective propaganda especially by district officers explaining to rural audience what the Government have so far done to improve their lot we may soon see some increased activity reflected in higher petrol consumption by such officers' cars carrying among other things copies of the report of the Agricultural Commission with Lord Linlithgow's

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#### INDIAN MINES ACT AMEND. BILL

**22nd. JANUARY :—***Sir Frank Noyce* introduced a Bill to-day to amend the Indian Mines Act which was the result of a resolution passed by the Central Legislature recommending the Government to examine the possibility of reducing statutory limit of hours in mines. After this resolution was passed the local Governments and interests were consulted. Clause 2 of the Bill raised from thirteen to fifteen years the minimum age for employment in mines. The Labour Commission had recommended the age of fourteen, but the Government of India considered fifteen as desirable in view of the fact that full adult day can be worked by all who were not children and they believed that the change proposed would give rise to no serious difficulty. Clause 3 made representation of mine workers on mining boards equal to that of employers and followed the recommendation of the Labour Commission. As for hours it was proposed to reduce the work above ground from sixty-hours a week to fifty-hour and from twelve hours daily to ten hours daily. The below ground hours were reduced from twelve per day to nine hours. A spread over of eleven hours for workers above ground had been provided in order to permit the grant of adequate rest intervals.

#### INDIAN NATURALIZATION ACT AMEND. BILL

*Sir Henry Craik* introduced the Bill to amend the Indian Naturalization Act. It related to the national status of married women. It provided that a married woman whose husband acquired British Indian nationality during the marriage shall only acquire such nationality if she made a declaration of her desire to do so. It also protected such a woman from the loss of British Indian nationality as a consequence of loss of such nationality by her husband unless by reason of the acquisition of a new nationality by her husband she also acquired that nationality.

#### MR. SARAT BOSE'S DETENTION

The Assembly then took up the discussion of the adjournment motion of Mr. N. C. Bardoli regarding the detention of Mr. Sarat C. Bose. The mover asserted that the Government in preventing Mr. Sarat C. Bose, an elected member of the Assembly, from joining his duties as a member of the House, had seriously infringed the privilege of the House of having the services of a member elected by a constituency and had infringed the right of the constituency which elected him of being represented in the House. Referring to the history of Mr. Bose's detention, the speaker stated that the facts of Mr. Bose's imprisonment were well-known. He had been detained under Regulation III of 1818 for a long time. At the time of the Assembly election it was found that there was nothing in the Government of India Act which prevented Mr. Bose from seeking election. He filed nomination paper and was unanimously elected which was gazetted by the Government.

Finally, he was summoned by the Governor-General to come and take his part as a member of the Assembly. This was the state of things, added the speaker, which occurred just before the Assembly commenced its session. But when Mr. Bose was about to come to attend the Assembly, he was not allowed to do so, because he was detained under Regulation III. Why was he then allowed to file nomination, asked Mr. Bardoli. The Government of India Act, continued Mr. Bardoli, is a foreign legislation. It prescribed qualifications, and there was no disqualification assigned therein to a man detained under Regulation III. When the Government has suspicion on a man against whom they have no proof, the Government find it convenient to net him in under Regulation III. As a matter of fact, despite no proof against Mr. Bose, despite his challenge to the Government for adducing any proof substantiating their charges against him, despite the finding of a tribunal consisting of a High Court Judge and the law members of the Government of India and the Bengal Government, Mr. Bose had been still detained under regulation III. The mover asked under what law was he summoned to attend the Assembly. The Regulation III was enacted by the Government of India, but how could it supersede a Parliamentary Act? Under the provision of the Government of India Act, he was called upon to join the Assembly duties, but the Government of Bengal set it at naught. Could the Bengal Government do that, and if so, under what law, asked the mover. Proceeding, Mr. Bardoli said when a man was detained on suspicion, he sometimes was allowed to live as a free man in another province. The speaker did not understand why it was not possible in Mr. Bose's case. What would be the harm if he was permitted to come to Delhi and perform duties as a member of the Assembly.

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*Sir Cowasji Jehangir* demanded immediate release of Mr. Bose, or in the alternative, to put him on trial or convince him by giving substantial reasons that the Government had justification in detaining him any longer. The speaker said trust begets trust, and the Home Member was forgetting that the people on this side of the House would be members of the Treasury Benches to-morrow when they would get to know information now withheld.

Then followed a series of interpellations during the *Home Member's* speech by Sir *Jehangir* and Mr. *Jinnah*, the latter pointing out that if the House were to confine its remarks only to privileges in the technical Parliamentary sense, the motion should not have been admitted at all. If the Home Member did not explain the reasons of preventing Mr. Bose from coming, he would vote against the Government.

*Sir Henry Craik*, referring to the Law Member's speech, said that Sir N. N. Sircar had completely demolished the theory of privileges, and he, therefore, maintained that when there was no question of privilege, the question of infringement did not arise at all. The Congress might win in division, but in debate, victory was Government's.

Closure was then applied and the motion was carried by 58 to 64 votes, which was the first victory for the Congress in the present Assembly which then adjourned till 24th.

#### ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

**24th. JANUARY :**—The election of the President was held to-day. *Sir Abdur Rahim* was elected President by 70 votes as against 62 secured by his rival Congress candidate Mr. T. A. K. *Sherwani*. The Chairman then adjourned the House for half an hour. On reassembling, the Chairman read a message from the Viceroy, which the members heard standing. The message accorded approval to Sir Abdur Rahim's election.

#### H. E. The Viceroy's Address

Members assembled again at 3 p. m. to hear the Viceroy's address. The Viceroy arrived in procession and took his seat on the golden throne. His Excellency spoke feelingly, especially when referring to the constitutional question. The speech lasted 55 minutes and on conclusion was cheered by all sections of the House, except the Congress Party. The following is the text of His Excellency's speech :—

Gentlemen ! In rising to greet the Hon. Members to this, the first session of a new Assembly, my first very pleasant duty is to congratulate you warmly, Mr. President, on your election to your important and responsible post. With some knowledge of your activities during the long years of public service, I am confident that you will carry out your duties with fairness and justice to every Hon. Member of this Assembly and I am equally confident that I can rely on every Hon'ble Member giving his full support to the chair.

My next duty is to welcome to the Legislative Assembly those who have been elected by their constituencies to represent their interests. Many of those who were members in the Assembly when I last addressed it have failed to secure re-election and though I and my colleagues cannot but regret the absence of those with whom we have been so closely associated during the life-time of the last Assembly, our welcome to those who have taken their place is none the less sincere. I trust that closer association with my Government will make those of you who come to this house for the first time appreciate more fully the difficult nature of the problems with which we all are called upon to deal and that the discussions, whether formal or informal, will make you realise that, even though we may differ as to the methods, we all have before us the same ideal—the welfare and advancement of India.

#### KING'S JUBILEE FUND

Before I pass on to refer in greater detail to some of the matters which fall outside the realm of politics or political controversy, the year 1935 marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of His Majesty the King Emperor's accession to the Throne. It is in accordance with His Majesty's wishes that May 6th is to be a day of special thanksgiving throughout the Empire. The local Governments and the local committees which they are constituting will, I feel sure, receive the cordial support of the members of all communities, classes and creeds in carrying out their thanksgiving celebrations in the manner most appropriate to the locality. You will also have seen the public appeal which I issued a few weeks ago with the gracious approval of His Majesty, suggesting that, in commemoration of this auspicious occasion, a Fund should be raised in India for charitable purposes and to be devoted to four institutions of an all-India character, which are well-known to all classes in the country as a constant source of relief to cases of suffering and want. The very ready response, which was given to the appeal to relieve the distress caused by the earthquake a year ago, makes me hope that once

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experience as a man of affairs should enable him to continue with success the work of his distinguished predecessors.

Hon'ble members cannot but be familiar with, probably many of them have participated in, the discussions and enquiries which are afoot regarding India's educational system. I am not one of those who felt that the present system has served no useful purpose and that it is an unmixed evil. Social and economic changes, not to mention political changes, create conditions which necessitate the overhaul of educational as of other activities. They are signs of a progressive national life not necessarily accusers of what has been or exists. My Government welcome the keen interest which educational problems have aroused throughout India, the profound attention which they are receiving from Local Governments, from educationists and from leading public personalities. The constitutional framework has made education the responsibility of Provincial Ministers and local Legislatures. This is as it should be, but education is at the very root of national prosperity. The Government of India cannot, therefore, be disinterested and aloof spectators. They may no longer direct or control. They can help to provide machinery which will facilitate and promote interchange of ideas and information. For this purpose, my Government have decided to revive the Educational Advisory Board from the next financial year. The Assembly will be approached in due course to vote funds for the expenditure involved. During its last session the Assembly approved the proposal of my Government to locate the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research in a more central place. A suitable site has been finally chosen for the purpose and I hope to lay the foundation stone of the building next month. The new institute when ready will be within easy reach of this Chamber. Hon'ble members from all parts of India will thus be able without the effort or inconvenience of a tedious journey to familiarise themselves with the work of the Institute for India's staple industry. The Imperial Control of Agricultural Research has continued its efforts to assist, co-ordinate and guide agricultural research throughout India and has been appreciated and utilised to a steadily increasing degree.

As you are aware, the Hyderabad, Mysore and the Baroda States have participated in the work of the Research Council and contributed to its funds for some time past. Recently, the Travancore, Cochin and Bhopal States have joined the Research Council and undertaken to make suitable contribution to its exchequer. At the present moment, perhaps, most interest attaches to the steps which have been taken with the object of improving the financial return to the cultivator for his enterprise. When I addressed the House last August, I referred to some detail of the steps which my Government was taking for the improvements in the marketing of agricultural produce. I mentioned in particular intention to initiate at as early a date as possible marketing surveys for certain main groups and commodities, viz., cereals, oilseeds, fruit and vegetables, fibres and tobacco, dairy produce and poultry, livestock and livestock products. Since then, the public Service Commission has been engaged on the recruitment of 17 central marketing officers and assistant marketing officers and these gentlemen are expected to take up their duties under the marketing expert early next month. The details of the provincial sections of the scheme have also been completed and the work will start almost immediately in the various provinces. Simultaneously with the commodity surveys, the existing markets both primary and terminal will be studied and also the results of the previous efforts which have been made to organise producers and improve the markets open to them. It gives me great pleasure to add that we have also been assured of the active co-operation of a number of Indian States in the carrying out of this important project and that several of them are appointing special marketing staffs of their own for the purpose. As each survey is completed, the practical conclusions to which they are designed to lead will be examined in consultation with Local Governments, so that the active development work for the improvement of marketing may be undertaken without delay. For simplicity in the administration and the convenience of the public, the marketing expert to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has been designated Agricultural Marketing Adviser to the Government of India and a separate office created and attached to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research Department.

#### DAIRY INDUSTRY

Another matter which came under consideration of the Provincial Economic Conference in April 1934 was the improvement and development of the dairy industry in India—a question of first class importance to producers and consumers alike in these days, when world markets appear to be too well supplied with every kind of grain. The better development of livestock industries is an avenue of progress which cannot be neglected in any attempt to develop the dairy industry. It is particularly important

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scheme of the very highest importance for the introduction of an Empire Air Mail Service, the adoption of which would bring about by far the greatest single advance which has yet been made in the speed and frequency of air services and incidentally bring India into much closer contact with Empire countries and with other countries lying on or near the Empire routes. My Government fully realise the extent to which India is concerned in these proposals and the part it is desirable that they should take in any scheme of Empire air routes. I am not in a position at the moment to say more than that they are giving the scheme their most serious consideration.

In connection with road development, two important events have occurred recently. In December last, an Indian Roads Congress was held which was attended by engineers from all provinces and important States in India and by a number of business men professionally interested in road-making. The object of the Congress was to enable those concerned with the technical aspects of road construction to pool their experiences and to learn how the problems which confront them have been attacked and solved in other parts of India. I understand that the general impression amongst those who attended the Congress was that this was successfully achieved and that it was felt that the meeting should be the first of a series which will keep road engineers in close touch with those methods of road making which have proved failures in the past.

The Road Congress was followed in January by the first meeting of the Transport Advisory Council, a body of an entirely different character and with a different purpose. It consisted of the Ministers in charge of roads in the provinces of their representatives with one or two Council advisers and its function was to arrive at a considered statement of policy, which could be generally acted upon by the Provinces for the furtherance of the co-ordinated development of road-rail and other forms of transport, a purpose which all must admit is of the very highest importance. I am glad to be able to say that the Council was able to formulate a statement of policy which covers many, if not all, of the major problems now facing us in connection with this very difficult subject and they also indicated definite lines for further investigation. This statement of policy will now be placed by my Government before the Provincial Governments and I trust that it will not be long before it is in active operation and that it will prove of great economic benefit to the whole country.

#### LABOUR LEGISLATION

While the constitutional issues naturally tend to occupy the leading place in our minds at present, the consideration of these should not hamper us in pursuing reform in other directions. The Whitley Commission, after quoting John Bright's maxim that "nation in every country dwells in the cottage", added that the well-being of the people must be the primary concern of every government, whatever its composition. The same is true of every legislature and it is satisfactory to find on looking back that although legislative assemblies have varied considerably in composition and outlook, they have all agreed in pursuing legislation designed to protect and ameliorate the condition of labour. We are at present pursuing an important programme of labour legislation, which follows the general lines suggested by the Whitley Commission and some Bills arising directly or indirectly out of that Commission's recommendations will come up for your consideration. One of these Bills is designed mainly to prevent certain abuses relating to the payment of wages and represents a beginning for India of what is known elsewhere as "truck legislation." A Bill for this purpose was introduced in the preceding Assembly and circulated for opinion. After these were revived, a motion for a select committee was tabled. It was unfortunately not reached. We have used the interval to attempt ourselves to incorporate a number of changes suggested by the opinions and thereby facilitate further progress and the new Bill accordingly represents a revised edition of the old one. I commend it to your careful consideration. A second Labour Bill which has already been introduced involves a revision of the main labour provisions of the Indian Mines Act. It includes proposals for reducing maximum hours and for raising substantially the minimum age for employment in mines.

Two further Bills owe certain amount of inspiration to the Whitley Commission, although they do not fall within the category of Labour legislation but have a wider aim. They both seek to amend the Civil Procedure Code in respect of the execution of degrees and they are both designed for the protection of debtors. The problem of indebtedness has been very prominently before the public in recent years and in some provinces, bold legislative experiments are being essayed in the endeavour to alleviate what is undoubtedly a grave weakness of our economic system. Our proposals are

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matter of vital importance to commerce and industry in India, we have sought the advice of representatives of those interests and the views which they have expressed will receive the fullest consideration of my Government in the negotiation of any agreement or convention.

#### THE NEW BILL

In the speeches I have made since the publication of the Joint Select Committee's Report, I have expressed myself generally on the scheme of constitutional reform but I feel that in addressing honourable members on this subject I have a special message to deliver in order that I may give expression to thoughts on which my mind has dwelt longer than is perhaps realised. My association with India now dates back so many years that I can without presumption lay before you reflections based on my own experience. For that reason, speaking as the head of the administration in India, I hope, I may be allowed to strike a more personal note than is usual in these addresses. I would ask you in the first place, when you turn over in your thoughts the scheme of constitutional reform now embodied in a Bill, to fix your attention on the broad lines on which it is planned, placing on one side for the moment the arguments and discussions of recent years, the evidence and the memoranda, the documents and the reports, in short all the literature of the Reforms. Free your minds of these and let your thoughts centre on the great principles which have increasingly asserted themselves, until they have dominated the scheme. They are the foundations on which the scheme is built, Provincial Autonomy in British India and Federation comprising the whole continent.

I can remember the time when Federation was discussed as a visionary dream, something in the remote future, something distant and scarcely practicable. Gradually it has taken shape. It has come nearer. Honourable Members with as close a knowledge of India's political history as my own will remember that the authors of the Joint Report of 1917 were not content with sketching an immediate scheme of Reforms. They let their minds run on into what the future might bring. What was it they saw before them, when they assumed the mantle of prophecy? Let me take their own words: "India was to be a sisterhood of self-governing States presided over by a Central Government occupied with matters of common interest external and internal. The Units were not to be the provinces only. With them there were to be associated the Indian States anxious to contribute to the common service but sensitive to maintain their own individuality." In 1917, these thoughts were expressed as a conception of the future, something to aim at, something not yet within reach but where do we stand now?

#### THE PRINCES' SUPPORT

Never should we forget the contribution of the Princes at the first Round Table Conference, when they declared their readiness to enter All-India Federation. The appeal of this great principle was irresistible. The princes rose to the occasion. What was till then scarcely more than a picture of a possible future was transformed at once into something substantial on which to build. Here at last were the real foundations on which to construct a scheme embodying the essential unity of India. Look back over India's history to the time before the British connection established itself. This dream of a dominion extending its authority from one end of the continent to the other, from age to age, seized the mind and gripped the imagination of the great rulers of the past.

We, the British in India, have brought peace and ordered government over a long period of years. Under our hand the political life of the country has grown and expanded. New ideas of public and personal liberty have been encouraged and have taken root, but in a Federation of all-India, I see the coping stone of British achievement. I can confidently assert that this ideal with its necessary corollary of provincial autonomy should command the support of all, both British and Indian, who honestly desire the advancement of India in the successive stages of her political development but if this is our objective how is it to be reached? The answer will be found in the Report of the Select Committee and in the Bill presented by His Majesty's Government to Parliament. Years of thought and careful investigation have been given to the preparation of the scheme in all its multifarious and complicated details. It is no easy road that leads to Federation. The higher we set our aim, the more numerous the difficulties to surmount, but that is no reason why we should be deterred. Do not imagine for a moment that it is possible to construct so great a scheme of political advance with as much ease and exactness as an architect can command in planning or altering a house.

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measure as amended by the select committee in the last Assembly. The Bill had lapsed owing to the dissolution of the Assembly and had been now revived. The object of the new bill is explained in a statement attached to the Bill as follows :—Professional pilgrim guides, many of whom are foreign subjects, play an important part in connection with Haj pilgrimage. Their activities were originally confined to Hedjaz but now extend to recruitment of pilgrims from foreign countries and with this object in view foreign pilgrim guides frequently visit India. During three or four months preceding the Haj day, pilgrim guides, both Indian and foreign, tour throughout the country especially Bengal in an endeavour to secure as many clients as possible and escort them to Hedjaz. Some of them do their work honestly and to the benefit of pilgrims, but unfortunately others are unscrupulous and dishonest. The Government of India carefully examined the committee's proposals in consultation with the Governments of Bombay and Bengal and other interested parties including the Standing Haj Committee of the Indian legislature and came to the conclusion that legislation on the subject was necessary. A Bill on the subject was accordingly introduced in the Legislative Assembly on March 11, 1932, and referred to a select committee on April 5, 1932. The report of the select Committee was presented on Feb. 1, 1933. On Sept. 18, 1933, the Bill was recommitted to the select committee and its report was presented on August 6, 1934. The Bill could not be proceeded with in the session of the last Assembly and, therefore, lapsed. The present Bill is identical with the Bill as amended by the second select committee. Reasons for various provisions included in the Bill are stated briefly in the notes on the clauses.

#### THE MINES ACT, AMEND. BILL.

Sir Frank Noyce moved for the appointment of a select committee on the Mines Act Amending Bill. Sir Frank said that the first Bill to come up before the new Assembly was one for social betterment. After tracing the history of the Bill from 1927 and dealing with the changes as introduced in the hours in mines, the Labour Member claimed that though the bill might look as if there were a fall from the eight hours' ideal still when the fact that the actual working time, that is, time taken by taking the labourer down and up the mine, was excluded. This had now had at least, the eight and half hour arrangement. The House adopted the motion for a select committee.

#### INDIAN NATURALIZATION ACT, AMEND. BILL.

On the Home Member's motion the House passed without discussion the Bill amending the Indian Naturalization Act giving effect to the international convention relating to the international status of married women. The House then adjourned.

#### INDO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT DEBATE

**29th. JANUARY :**—The Trade Agreement between Britain and India, which was concluded in London on the 8th. January, was bitterly attacked in the Assembly to-day by several Opposition members, who demanded its immediate termination. The grounds of attack were, firstly, that Indian commercial interests were not consulted before the conclusion of the Agreement; secondly, that the Agreement was one-sided, and, lastly, that it had restricted the application of the principle of discriminatory protection. Sir Joseph Bhore, Commerce Member, explained that the Agreement had done nothing more than crystalize past fiscal practice and principle, which had been accepted and laid down either directly or indirectly by the Central legislature and had broken no new ground. Such an agreement, he added, would help more than anything else "to relegate safeguards to a region where they will be impeded."

Sir Joseph Bhore simply moved : "That the Agreement between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India, signed on January 8, be taken into consideration." Sir Joseph said that the Agreement was clear in its terms and required no elaborate explanation of justification, but experience of the past had shown how easy it was for a wrong judgment to be formed and Party differences to be reached under the pressure of political bias. He hoped that in this case at least logic and facts would overcome prejudice. He put to himself two questions. Firstly, what was the essential nature of this Agreement; and, secondly, why it had been considered necessary to enter into it at this stage. As regards the first question his answer was that the Government of India would continue their adherence to the policy of discriminating protection as outlined by the Assembly. Nothing in the Agreement had either derogated from that policy or weakened its application by the fact they had applied it at present. Thirdly, in the conduct of the Tariff Board enquiry

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their kith and kin (laughter). Mr. Desai maintained that the agreement must be based on give and take. "It comes to this that in order to admit that we have what we have, we are called upon to pay a rupee—a proposition which no businessman will ever accept. The fact is that we are called upon to legalise and regulate what has been highhandedness and onesidedness on the part of those who wield executive and political power to the detriment of ourselves. Let us give our answer with no uncertain voice.

*Sir Joseph Bhore*, winding up the debate, spoke nearly for fifty minutes and at the conclusion was applauded. He claimed that not a single national industry was endangered or adversely affected by any of the provisions of the agreement. If, while retaining unimpaired the economic interests of India they had been able to do something to help the cause of goodwill and friendliness between India and England at this most fateful juncture of history (hear, hear), then they had done something of which they need never be ashamed and which India in her calmer moments would not be slow to admit (Applause). As for the duration of this agreement Sir Joseph emphasised that it was coterminous with that of the Ottawa agreement which would last one year more and if at the end of that period the House considered it essential to discontinue it, then with that agreement would also go this present one, of course after giving six months' notice. Proceeding Sir Joseph contended that article 1 of the agreement contained nothing but a bare statement of fact and he asked if there was any single Indian cotton textile industrialist who could possibly deny that a measure of protection against British cotton textile would not be entirely useless against Japanese competition.

Continuing Sir. Joseph Bhore said that if radical alterations set in any industry, which received protection, demanded reinvestigation, then the Government of India would see that without depriving the industry of its protection, it did not make excessive profits. Mr. Jinnah had asked whether India had the right to represent before any authority in England against the imposition of protective duty in the case of Indian goods. Sir Joseph Bhore replied affirmatively, because under the Import Duties Act they had the statutory right of putting their case. As for the criticism that the Government of India had not consulted Indian Commercial opinion, the Commerce Member said that there was nothing new that mattered. Was he to consult them over the principles which had been accepted by the House over and over again? He also denied the allegation that the fiscal autonomy convention was thrown to the winds.

The House divided on Mr. Gauba's proposition for immediate termination of the Agreement\*. This was carried by 66 against 58 votes amidst cheers. The Assembly then adjourned till the 4th. Feb.

**\*Text of Indo-British Trade Agreement:**—The following is the text of the agreement signed on the 9th. January in London by Sir Walter Runciman on behalf of his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and by Sir B. N. Mitra on behalf of the Government of India as a supplement to the Ottawa Trade Agreement :—

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India hereby agree that during the continuance of the Ottawa Trade Agreement the following undertakings on the part of his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and of the Government of India shall be deemed to be supplementary to that agreement, namely—

**Article I.**—It is recognised by his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India that while protection to an Indian Industry against the import of whatever origin may be necessary in the interests of the economic well-being of India, conditions within the industries in India, in the United Kingdom and in foreign countries may be such that the Indian industry requires a higher level of protection against foreign goods than against the imports of the United Kingdom origin.

**Article II.**—It is recognised by his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that under the existing conditions import duties constitute an indispensable element in the revenues of the Government of India and that revenue considerations must be given due weight in fixing the levels of import duties.

**Article III.**—The Government of India undertake that protection be afforded to such industries only as after due enquiries by the Tariff Board have, in the opinion of the Government of India, established claims thereto in accordance with the policy of discriminating protection laid down in the resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly on 16-2-23 provided this undertaking shall not apply to safeguarding industries under the Safeguarding Act of 1933.

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Messrs Ghuznavi, Mody, Bhai Paramanand, Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, Mr. Surya Some, Sardar Sant Singh, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir and Dewan Lal Chand Navalrai also formally moved their amendments.

Thereafter *Mr. Bhulabhai Desai* stood up and subjected the Joint Committee Report to a scathing criticism and concluded with the remark that the constitution offered to India was futile. He said : "It does not either serve the purpose of reconciling the Indians or serve Government's purposes. I appeal to the House that even if we have not the power to compel the authorities to the grant of what we want, we have certainly the self-respect to repeal what we do not want." At the outset Mr. Desai told the House that he rose to move his amendment and speak thereon with a great sense of responsibility. Referring to Sir N. N. Sircar's observation that his amendment was destructive, he said : "If we destroy the constitution, we shall destroy only to build it." Proceeding, the speaker dealt with the historical review given by the Committee in their Report in paragraphs 10 and 11 and said there was time when Indians looked upon the British connection as a providential relation and thought it was a beneficent event and that under the British rule Indians should always have justice, fair play and also freedom even without agitating for it. But that stage was long past. Then came another stage when the freedom movement was found necessary. During the last Great War, India helped Britain with all her men, resources and wealth. Solemn promises were made and high hopes were held out for India. But promises made from time to time during the course of the Great War had a tendency either to be forgotten or repudiated or whittled down. The principle of Self-Determination was given a good-bye. Now Indians are at the third stage of their political history, a stage of struggle in hope and belief, to show that they deserve what they desired, namely self-government. Making an impassioned appeal to all sections of the House not to poison and cloud the real constitutional issue which faces India vis-a-vis England, Mr. Desai asked the movers of the communal motions not to pursue them, but to give support to his motion which stood for harmony and peace. He wanted them to remember what Mr. Baldwin said the other day in the House of Commons that 'so long as Indians are divided, we have the right to rule them.' It was up to the different communities in India to make England's domination impossible for he believed they united in desiring the consummation of their political aspirations. Proceeding Mr. Desai said : "Here is a sham constitution offered to us. Are we to accept it ? No. A glance at the amendments moved convinces everyone that they are all for rejection." Referring to the grant of new constitution Mr. Desai asked, "What are the powers of any Government to offer a constitution and when is it done ? There are two occasions when a Constitution is revised, namely, demand by the ruled for greater reforms or emergency arising out of the existing constitution if it is found workable. Indians demanded a real Round Table Conference between the representatives of the people of India on the one hand and representatives of Great Britain on the other hand. The Round Table Conference which had taken place during the last few years was not a real Round Table Conference and what had been the outcome of three conferences is a constitution which is wholly unacceptable to India. Even the greatest exponents of Round Table Conference had been disillusioned by its results. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said the other day that his only place was now the obscure place of a provincial lawyer. If that is the feeling of people who had been eager about the Round Table Conference, the value of the Conference can easily be appraised. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru refused to accept any form of provincial autonomy if there is not the fullest responsibility at the Centre. We are no longer in the stage of tutelage that we shall go step by step and may be we shall be asked to go two steps backward." Dealing with the merits of the Central Constitution, Mr. Desai pointed out: "There are four aspects of every good constitution, namely, the right of external and internal defence, the right of control of external relations, the right of controlling the Currency and Exchange, the right of the fiscal policy and the right of the day-to-day administration. But by a stroke of the pen these important features have been put under Reserve Subjects and what is left to us ? We cannot even control our Currency and Exchange. Then we are left at the discretionary powers special responsibilities and the Right of Veto of the Governor-General. Added to these, there are the two Chambers. In fact, there remains no responsibility at the Centre. The Constitution shuts out all possibility of the growth of Indian talents although we possess talents. As regards the provinces, Mr. Desai said : "There is nothing to choose between the Provinces and the Centre. India is being taxed to the utmost capacity. Yet under the proposed Provincial Autonomy, we shall have to find some twenty crores more by way of taxation. Ministers will be

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*Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury* said that, whereas the ban against other Congress organisations had been removed, there must be some reason why the Government had not removed it in the case of the Khudai Khidmatgars. (*Sir Henry Craik*: Yes, certainly). Mr. Chaudhury was of the opinion that if there was any group of Congressmen who strictly adhered to the non-violence creed it was the Frontier people. (Applause). Mahatma Gandhi had performed that great miracle. (*Mr. Metcalfe*: Mr. Gandhi did not go there). *Mr. Chaudhury*: It was his spirit, so much so that the leader of the Red Shirts was called the Frontier Gandhi. Anyway, whatever the past conduct of the Red Shirts they should be judged by the present policy and programme which do not justify continuance of the ban. Dr. Khan Sahib, the leader of that movement, has with the assistance of Red Shirt votes entered the Assembly showing a change in the outlook.

*Dr. Khan Saheb* was cheered when he rose to make his maiden speech. He said that he was the first elected member of the Frontier Province. Hitherto Frontier problems always were scrutinized through coloured glasses and presented by those nominated by the Government to "misrepresent" facts. Dr. Khan Saheb said that he would not go into details of the tyrannies. The Khudai Khidmatgars were servants of the humanity, irrespective of race. He asked, why Father Elwin, a seeker after truth, was turned out of the province, and cited Miss Wilkinson's opinion that she had never seen such orderly behaviour as of the people at Charsadda when called upon by leaders to disperse. Continuing, Dr. Khan admitted that Mr. Metcalfe, when in the Frontier, was sympathetic. The speaker's object was to show the movement was non-violent. The volunteers, who picketed Charsadda liquor shops, were ill-treated and even made stark naked (cries: shame) but there was not a single scratch on the policy. A meeting took place at Utmanzai. Lathi charge did not disperse them, but firing started without official order, two were killed and thirty wounded. Even then the people did not move and there was not a single scratch on those who killed them. Was not this a demonstration of non-violence? (applause). Once the police, misled by an informer, came to a village and killed a volunteer by accident. The villagers disarmed the police. When Khudai Khidmatgar leaders came next day the police were given back their uniforms and rifles and allowed to go with safety (applause), and Government's offer for compensation for the person killed was refused, because the volunteers were pledged to take no reward (applause). Dr. Khan then recalled the Simon Commission's remark about the Frontier that the "inherent right of man to smoke in the powder magazine must be curtailed", and said "we have started the movement to convert the Frontier into a peaceful house." The speaker quoted extensively from Burney's book—"The Naked Fakir" in which Burney, who lived as a guest of the head of the C. I. D., described the Red Shirt movement as peaceful and its leader as an embodiment of Christ (cheers). As to the Government's allegation that the volunteers marched in formations, the speaker asked what was wrong about it? The Government statement that Abdul Gaffar Khan's nephew refused to pay land revenue was a lie. Concluding Dr. Khan assured that the Red Shirt movement was non-violent. They had love for everybody, including even Nawab Major Ahmed Nawaz Khan (cheers).

The Home Member, replying to the debate, congratulated Dr. Khan on moderation and recalled the wise words of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai that they may differ without rancour. The Frontier territory was such that the Simon Commission's remark will entirely true. Men lived in hills, armed to teeth, ever ready to raid and even engage in regular war. The responsibility for peace in that territory was solely of the Executive, which could not be shared with the Assembly. The Home Member denied the charge of unfair discrimination and said that a number of other organisations were still unlawful, some in Bengal, many in Bombay and some in other provinces. If "Red Shirt" was a part of the Congress machine it was up to the Congress to show that it did, in fact, observe its rules of non-violence and discipline. Facts proved to the contrary. Professions of non-violence were absolutely lip professions. (*Dr. Khan*: question). The Chief Commissioner's detailed charges, giving instances of violence, had been published for three years, and were not challenged.

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The Home Member said that when the reforms were introduced, the Frontier Government made an attempt to create an atmosphere. But Abdul Ghaffar Khan repeatedly refused to see the Chief Commissioner and on the contrary went about preaching racial hatred and rebellion and stated definitely that his object was to turn the British out of India, if necessary, by force. Proceeding, Sir Henry Craik referred to the staging of a drama of seditious character, and said that though afterwards there

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the scheme of reforms marks a considerable advance on the existing constitution. If this is rejected, the result will be a repetition of the situation of discontent in a more aggravated form as prevailed after the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms." Referring to the safeguards in the Bill, Mr. Mody deprecated all elaborate commercial and other safeguards which have been devised. "The Safeguards," he said, "can never prevail against the solemn will of the people. Still if they are thrust upon India, it will be most deplorable." As regards the omission of the declaration in the Bill that India's goal was Dominion Status, Mr. Mody stated : "I cannot conceive of anything so singularly unfortunate as the omission of any clause to define clearly and in emphatic terms that the present constitution is merely a prelude to the enlargement of liberty for India as enjoyed in the Dominions." He reminded Englishmen that the efforts of those who would work the constitution would be thwarted if the majority of India's politically-minded people refused to accept it. Concluding, Mr. Mody appealed to the British Government to give them the right amount of liberty in the right way at the right time.

Dr. *Pramatha Nath Banerji* exposed the hollowness of provincial autonomy adumbrated in the Constitution Bill and showed by analysing the scheme that there was no transfer of power and no possibility of responsible Government in the provinces. The Governors, he opined, will be invested with heavy responsibilities,—responsibilities ordinary and special,—so extensive in character that the Council of Ministers who will be chosen by the Governors themselves will be utterly helpless in all matters. Coming to the Centre he said that the position was worse as the Governor-General was given more wide and far greater powers. The Great Moghul in the Whitehall, said he, will continue to control the destinies of 350 millions of people.

*Sir Cowasji Jehangir* was certain that the proposed safeguards were sure to result in deadlocks. If in spite of their warning the British Government forced this constitution on India they would do so on their own responsibility. Airing his personal views Sir *Joseph Bhore* on the eve of his retirement asked the House to take a practical view and stated that there were three fold implications of rejecting the scheme. Firstly, the advocates of rejection expected to obtain a more satisfactory constitution through pressure of Direct Action but past historical experiences showed that Direct Action had failed. The second implication of rejection was, Sir Joseph said, that it would bring some better offer from His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament. It is not inconceivable that if rejection was complete, it would carry some weight but let us be under no delusion. However strong the feeling against the reforms, it will in practice be worked by a large majority of people in this country. If that be the case, rejection becomes an empty gesture, quite meaningless and purposeless. The third implication of rejection, said Sir Joseph, is the possibility of a change in Government in England giving India something better. The House at this stage adjourned.

**7th. FEBRUARY :**—The Assembly concluded to-day the three-day debate on the J. P. C. Report. The first part of Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*'s amendment, which only referred to the J. P. C. Report and did not mention anything about the Communal Award, was put to vote and defeated by 72 against 61 votes.

There were altogether 4 divisions. The second part of Mr. Desai's amendment neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Award, which he moved as an amendment to the first part of Mr. Jinnah's amendment was lost by 84 to 44 votes.

The first part of Mr. Jinnah's amendment accepting the Communal Award was carried by 68 to 15 votes, Congressmen remaining neutral. The second and third parts of Mr. Jinnah's amendment re : Provincial Autonomy and Federation were passed by 74 votes to 58 votes.

Mr. *M. S. Aney*, Leader of the Congress Nationalist Party, was first called upon by the President to open the debate to-day on the J. P. C. Report. At the outset Mr. Aney declared that the report was full of blunders, misconceptions and misstatements. The recommendations of the report were full of absurdity inasmuch as they bristled with safeguards. Mr. Aney asserted that under such circumstances there were no scope not only of real advance but even the sort of advance contemplated by the authors of the report. Attacking the Communal Award Mr. Aney said that one direct result of the Award would be the breaking up of national and political solidarity which had been achieved, however partially. It was from the standpoint of Indian nationalism and national homogeneity, declared Mr. Aney, that he directed his crusade against the Award. He also attacked the contemplated administrative arrangements of Berars under the new constitution.

the scheme of reforms marks a considerable advance on the existing constitution. If this is rejected, the result will be a repetition of the situation of discontent in a more aggravated form as prevailed after the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms." Referring to the safeguards in the Bill, Mr. Mody deprecated all elaborate commercial and other safeguards which have been devised. "The Safeguards," he said, "can never prevail against the solemn will of the people. Still if they are thrust upon India, it will be most deplorable." As regards the omission of the declaration in the Bill that India's goal was Dominion Status, Mr. Mody stated: "I cannot conceive of anything so singularly unfortunate as the omission of any clause to define clearly and in emphatic terms that the present constitution is merely a prelude to the enlargement of liberty for India as enjoyed in the Dominions." He reminded Englishmen that the efforts of those who would work the constitution would be thwarted if the majority of India's politically-minded people refused to accept it. Concluding, Mr. Mody appealed to the British Government to give them the right amount of liberty in the right way at the right time.

Dr. *Pramatha Nath Banerji* exposed the hollowness of provincial autonomy adumbrated in the Constitution Bill and showed by analysing the scheme that there was no transfer of power and no possibility of responsible Government in the provinces. The Governors, he opined, will be invested with heavy responsibilities,—responsibilities ordinary and special,—so extensive in character that the Council of Ministers who will be chosen by the Governors themselves will be utterly helpless in all matters. Coming to the Centre he said that the position was worse as the Governor-General was given more wide and far greater powers. The Great Moghul in the Whitehall, said he, will continue to control the destinies of 350 millions of people.

*Sir Cowasji Jehangir* was certain that the proposed safeguards were sure to result in deadlocks. If in spite of their warning the British Government forced this constitution on India they would do so on their own responsibility. Airing his personal views Sir *Joseph Bhore* on the eve of his retirement asked the House to take a practical view and stated that there were three fold implications of rejecting the scheme. Firstly, the advocates of rejection expected to obtain a more satisfactory constitution through pressure of Direct Action but past historical experiences showed that Direct Action had failed. The second implication of rejection was, Sir Joseph said, that it would bring some better offer from His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament. It is not inconceivable that if rejection was complete, it would carry some weight but let us be under no delusion. However strong the feeling against the reforms, it will in practice be worked by a large majority of people in this country. If that be the case, rejection becomes an empty gesture, quite meaningless and purposeless. The third implication of rejection, said Sir Joseph, is the possibility of a change in Government in England giving India something better. The House at this stage adjourned.

**7th. FEBRUARY:**—The Assembly concluded to-day the three-day debate on the J. P. C. Report. The first part of Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*'s amendment, which only referred to the J. P. C. Report and did not mention anything about the Communal Award, was put to vote and defeated by 72 against 61 votes.

There were altogether 4 divisions. The second part of Mr. Desai's amendment neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Award, which he moved as an amendment to the first part of Mr. Jinnah's amendment was lost by 84 to 44 votes.

The first part of Mr. Jinnah's amendment accepting the Communal Award was carried by 68 to 15 votes, Congressmen remaining neutral. The second and third parts of Mr. Jinnah's amendment re : Provincial Autonomy and Federation were passed by 74 votes to 58 votes.

Mr. *M. S. Aney*, Leader of the Congress Nationalist Party, was first called upon by the President to open the debate to-day on the J. P. C. Report. At the outset Mr. Aney declared that the report was full of blunders, misconceptions and misstatements. The recommendations of the report were full of absurdity inasmuch as they bristled with safeguards. Mr. Aney asserted that under such circumstances there were no scope not only of real advance but even the sort of advance contemplated by the authors of the report. Attacking the Communal Award Mr. Aney said that one direct result of the Award would be the breaking up of national and political solidarity which had been achieved, however partially. It was from the standpoint of Indian nationalism and national homogeneity, declared Mr. Aney, that he directed his crusade against the Award. He also attacked the contemplated administrative arrangements of Berars under the new constitution.

is a fallacious argument. It is not that we were setting upon some venture after which we would distribute the spoils of the venture. Why does Mahatma Gandhi fast unto death and then gets all the Hindu leaders of India to agree to the Poona Pact? Why did not you tell him 'acquisition first then distribution.' Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah congratulated his Hindu brethren on exhibiting their sense of solidarity which had led them to win over the Depressed Classes to them by giving them what they wanted. Why not show the same spirit towards the Muslims? Referring to the Federation, Mr. Jinnah emphatically declared that it was wholly rotten and totally unacceptable and absolutely unworkable. The Princes had laid down impossible terms on which it was impossible to construct any scheme of constitution. He was not opposed to the Princes or any body. But he was for British India and this scheme was going to destroy all that British India had developed during the last fifty years of constitutional progress. He was not opposed to the idea of a Federation, but bitterly opposed to a Federation of this character. It would lead to ill-will and bitterness. It consists of 98 per cent. safeguards and only two per cent responsibility. So far as the provincial scheme was concerned, Mr. Jinnah was of opinion that it undoubtedly was an advance on the present constitution in the following directions, namely, extension of franchise, Indianisation of the Cabinet, all members of the legislature to be elected, responsibility of the Ministers to the legislature, etc. Certain objectionable features in the provincial scheme which according to him require modification have been pointed out in the amendment suggested by him.

Mr. F. E. James emphasised that the constitution offered to India marked a tremendous advance on the existing one. He strongly controverted Mr. Jinnah's assertion that the Federal scheme was conceived to prevent further advance in the Central Government. This allegation, said the speaker, was not only untrue but runs counter to the historical processes in the successive Round Table Conferences. Mr. James also refuted Mr. Jinnah's point that the safeguards ate up all the transfer of power.

Speaking first after lunch Mr. Ghuznavi traced the history of Muslim awakening and communal dissensions which reached the culminating point at the second Round Table Conference. He described how Hindu Mahasabha leaders destroyed all attempts at peace by insisting on getting two more seats to the Sikhs in the Punjab thus reducing the Muslims into a minority.

Mr. Govindballav Pant spoke for 40 minutes to show that the constitution irrespective of the safeguards was definitely a retrograde step. Parliament would perpetrate a monstrous fraud in the name of constitution if the Government of India Bill were passed as it had been framed. He cited the political blunders that England had committed in regard to America, Ireland and South Africa and observed that whenever the question of the grant of responsible Government arose, Britain adopted suicidal dilatoriness.

Mr. Satyamurthi, the last speaker on the debate, made a forceful speech appealing to reject the report. He emphasised that the India Bill was a monstrous monument of shams. It did not satisfy the political aspirations of the most moderate section of the people, it was too costly, it contained no seeds of growth in it. India's self-respect demanded that the constitution should without any hesitation be rejected. The country gave, he stated, a clear lead to the legislature as to what it should do with regard to the White Paper by returning at the last election those who opposed the White Paper scheme. "We asked what we should do", Mr. Satyamurthi continued, "if we did not accept the constitution, humiliating and intolerable as it is. It is my belief that there is no failure in the nation's fight for freedom."

Sir N. N. Sircar, replying to the three-day debate, spoke for more than an hour in course of which he quoted amidst interruptions from Mr. Jinnah and Sir Cowasji Jehangir, from Mr. Jinnah's Round Table speeches to show that Mr. Jinnah was mostly concerned with the interests of his own community and the problems of the Nation were to him secondary. Nobody could deny that communal wrangles and provincial jealousies exist.

*Sir Mohamed Yakub* interrupted : What about Bhai Paramanand, Mr. Aney and Diwan Lalchand Navalrai ?

Mr. Jinnah:—What about yourself in London?

Proceeding Sir Nripen said all criticism levelled during the last two days were of a destructive nature. Nobody made any constructive suggestion. Mr. Desai did not even make any mention of the constituent assembly. Mr. Jinnah's proposal of working provincial autonomy and substituting the federal scheme by a British India Federation was not a practical proposition. After Sir Nripendranath Sircar had finished, closure was applied and the amendments were put to vote.

The amendment on the J. P. C. Report in the form in which it was eventually carried by 74 votes against 58 votes by the Assembly to-day was as follows:

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The amendment on the J. P. C. Report in the form in which it was eventually carried by 74 votes against 58 votes by the Assembly to-day was as follows:

intended to invalidate the search if not conducted strictly in accordance with the provisions of this section.

#### CR. PR. CODE 1898 (SEC. 406) AMEND. BILL

*Sardar Sant Singh* introduced two more Bills, one amending Section 406 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1898, which omits from the Act the proviso which lays down that appeals arising out of proceedings for keeping the peace would lie before the District Magistrate. *Sardar Sant Singh* said that so long as the District Magistrate occupied the position of head of the police and executive authorities of the district, these appeals should not be heard by him.

#### CR. PR. CODE 1898 (SECS. 30, 34, 34A, 35) AMEND. BILL

The fourth Bill amends Sections 30, 34 and 34A and 35 of the Criminal Procedure Code with a view to raise the standard of judicial administration in Governor's provinces. The House then adjourned.

#### REGULATING PAYMENT OF WAGES

**13th. FEBRUARY:**—The House met to-day to transact official business. *Sir Frank Noyce* (Industries Member) introduced a Bill regulating payment of wages to certain classes of persons employed in industry. The bill tries to remedy abuses with regard to delays in the payment of wages to persons employed in industry and the practice of imposing fines upon them. In moving the Bill *Sir Frank Noyce* paid a tribute to the late Mr. Whitley, who, he said, had left a mark on Indian labour for many generations.

#### CIVIL PROCEDURE CODE AMEND. BILLS

*Sir Henry Craik* introduced two bills one amending section 51 of the Code of Civil Procedure so as to protect honest debtors of all classes, and not the industrial workers class only, from detention in civil prison and to confine such detention to debtors proved to be recalcitrant or fraudulent.

The other Bill inserts a new section in the Code of Civil Procedure as follows : "Where a certified copy of decree of any of the superior courts of the United Kingdom or any reciprocating territory has been filed in the District Court, the decree may be executed in British India as if it has been passed by the District Court."

#### SHEET GLASS INDUSTRY

*Sir Frank Noyce* then moved a resolution that the draft convention for the regulation of hours of work in automatic sheet-glass works, passed at the eighteenth session of the International Labour Conference, be not ratified. He said that the draft of the report related to workmen's compensation, night work of women and other such matters. He proposed to bring up this convention for consideration before the Legislature at the Simla session. The object of the convention was to fix forty-two hours per week in sheet-glass factories. *Sir Frank* said that they were situated in the United Provinces and there was no immediate prospect of more factories being started in India. It was doubtful whether it was desirable to legislate for one factory and to reduce its work from fifty-six to forty-two hours weekly. Moreover glass-making, instead of being arduous, had become easier. There was no adequate reason to treat this industry in a special way.

*Mr. N. M. Joshi* moved an amendment that hours of work in sheet-glass works be reduced to forty-eight hours per week. He complained that the attitude of the Government with regard to international labour conventions always had been indifferent. Although the number of sheet-glass workers was small, still they should not be denied legitimate help. *Mr. B. Das* moved an amendment to the effect that the draft of the convention instead of not being ratified, as suggested, be brought before the Assembly for reconsideration after the publication of the Tariff Board's report on the glass industry in India. *Sir Frank Noyce* appealed to the House in the name of logic not to press *Mr. Joshi's* amendment as the House had passed the Factories Bill last year providing for 56 hours a week in all continuous process industries and the working conditions in glass industry were not worse than many other industries.

*Mr. B. Das's* amendment urging the bringing up of the matter before the Assembly after the Tariff Board's report was put to the vote and carried by 51 against 42 votes.

*Sir Frank Noyce* moved that the draft convention ensuring benefit or allowance to involuntarily unemployed and the recommendations concerning unemployment insurance and various forms of relief for unemployed adopted by the International Labour Conference at the 18th session be not ratified, nor the recommendations be accepted. He said that the proposal was impracticable in India. The question of

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king expenses amount to nearly 64 crores for depreciation and are three-fourth crores in excess of last year's figures.

Net revenue of Railways in 1934-35 is expected to be three crores higher than 1933-34 and interest charges three-fourth crore lower as a result of fall in rate of Government borrowing.

Total deficit of 424 lakhs (of which 185 lakhs are for strategic lines) will be met by temporary loan from depreciation fund which will stand at 11 crores at the end of the year.

Budget estimates for 1935-36 assumes improvement in receipts. Total traffic receipts on all State lines are estimated at 93 and a half crores. Increase in ordinary working expenses of 105 lakhs, including 92 lakhs due to decision not to reimpose cuts in pay, is counterbalanced to some extent by slight decrease in provision for depreciation, which, according to new method of calculation approved by Standing Finance Committee for Railways, will be 1-60 of total capital at charge. Total working expenses will amount to under 64 and a half crores and will be 60 lakhs more than in the current year. Deficit on all State lines in 1935-36 will be 190 lakhs. Deficit on strategic lines will be 197 lakhs and net result of working of commercial lines during the year will be a small surplus of 7 lakhs. Balance of depreciation fund at the end of the year will be 13 crores. Loans from fund to meet previous deficits will stand at 28 and a half crores.

In view of all signs at present pointing to further improvement in future, which is likely to be sustained if not spectacular, Railways felt justified in reduction recently announced in surcharge on coal freights which involves loss in earnings of over 20 lakhs on public coal. Maximum of Re 1 imposed on reduced surcharge of 12 and a half per cent. will be of considerable benefit to long distance traffic on which burden of present rate has fallen most heavily and result will be that surcharge on distances about 700 miles will be the same.

In justifying decision not to reimpose cuts in pay in 1935-36, Sir Joseph Bhore said : " Apart from the fact that more than half the staff on State Railways are actually Government servants, and that Railways have therefore from the beginning followed the policy of Government in this matter, we feel that with a revival in earnings to an extent that we think will enable us to balance the budget of commercial lines without recourse to the continuance of the cut, we could not consistently with our pledges, refuse to follow the action taken with regard to other Government servants. The wide discontent among our staff which would have followed any attempt to single them out for specially unfavourable treatment would, I have no doubt, have resulted in grave detriment to efficiency, if not indeed in serious labour trouble".

Sir Joseph Bhore claimed that the results of last year and the estimates he was placing before the Assembly had justified his optimism and the confidence expressed by him in previous years in the essential strength and soundness of the financial position of Indian Railways notwithstanding successive deficits since 1930-31. He said:—

"A review of results, if it is to be of any value, must extend over a sufficiently lengthy period to eliminate the distorting effects of temporary causes and give a true picture of the whole. Taking broad results, it will be seen that in the 12 years ending with 1935-36, 6 years of prosperity and 6 of the adversity, the net result of the working of all State-owned lines, commercial and strategic, will, if our present estimates prove correct, be a surplus of 14 crores and an accumulated balance in the depreciation fund of 41 and half crores. In other words, during the long period of varying future, we shall have earned a net income of over a crore a year after meeting working expenses, providing for accruing depreciation and playing interest in full on borrowed capital."

Works programme for 1935-36 is bigger than in recent years. Total sum provided is 15 crores after allowing for reduction of stores balances by three-fourth crore. Programme provides for starting construction of Megna Bridge to improve communication between Eastern Bengal and Assam and extension of the electrified suburban sanction of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway from Borivli to Virar. 10 lakhs is provided for a line of 52 miles in Southern India which will be undertaken if Government of Madras are in favour of project. 44 lakhs are required for the purchase of the Amritsar-Pati-Kasur Railway. Total expenditure during 1935-36 on restoration of damage caused by floods to Hardinge Bridge and by the Bihar earthquake is estimated at 70 lakhs. Of balance of fourteen one-fourth crores, track renewals account for 5 crores, bridge work for a crore, other structural works for three and three-fourth crores and rolling stock for four and one-half crores. Programme includes provision of over 5,000 wagons to meet increase in traffic demands, of which 4,250 are broad gauge general service wagons to be added to the pool.

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non-Assamese and urged the employment of the people of the province many of whom had returned with overseas training, but found no opening because the headquarters of the railways were in Calcutta and Chittagong.

Mr. *Mathradas Vissanji* lodged a vigorous protest against the restoration of the salary cut when no relief was given to the taxpayer by way of reduction of railway rates. It was unjust to restore the salary cut when even with the recovery noticeable in the movement of goods and consequent traffic receipts there would be a deficit in working the railways. When the railways were not able to make any contribution to the general revenues for the last five years, there should not have been restoration of the salary cut. In no democratically run Government servicemen could have been given preference over the taxpayer.

Dr. *P. N. Banerjee* joined Mr. Mathradas Vissanji in the complaint that retrenchment operations had not been carried out adequately before the salary cut was restored. He suggested that a surplus budget was possible by Indianisation and amalgamation of the different railways and grouping of them on a regional basis and also by increasing the earnings through reduction of rates. He was not satisfied with the concession in respect of reduction of the surcharge on coal which he wanted to be removed.

Mr. *Sri Prakasha* joined in the plea for cutting down the salaries of officers and supported the restoration of salary cut only in the case of employees drawing below Rs. 100 per mensem. He made several suggestions whereby railway administrations might at a small cost educate passengers in the elements of civic duty and suggested changes in the design of lavatories, particularly in third class compartments.

Mr. *V. V. Giri* said that while railway finances were improving year by year, no consolation was coming to the forty-seven thousand unemployed railway workers whose hardships could have been avoided only if railways had paid any heed to the suggestions made in that connection by the Railwaymen's Union. The speaker referred to the surplus stock of engines and wished these engines to be manufactured in India. It was a scandal that Government had been replying to all questions since 1921 that the matter about the construction of engines locally was under consideration. As regards the railroad competition he wanted the railways to save the one hundred and ninety lakhs of rupees which they were annually losing in it. This could be done by taking over the bus services running parallel to trains.

Sir *Joseph Bhore*, replying to the debate, first took up the question of coal contracts on which allegations and even insinuations had appeared in certain papers stating that the Railway Board unduly favoured smaller Indian-owned companies. The allegation was baseless, as he would show. Sir Joseph Bhore reminded the House that the railways were forced to run their own collieries and could meet all requirements from them. However, with a view to helping the coal industry they took a self-denying action and limited their own output to one-third and bought two-third from the market. He hoped that after this explanation they would not hear the allegations and insinuations repeated. As regards competition between shipping companies, the railways were justified in the steps they had taken. Railways had the minimum limit. He asked, was it contended by the shipping companies that they could not carry piece-goods and gunny between Calcutta and Bombay at rates lower than the railways? How did they carry rice at lower rates between Rangoon and Bombay? (Hear, hear). Continuing, Sir Joseph Bhore recognised the necessity of improving the services so that they would be able to meet larger customs and popularise the railways against competitive services. But times had been hard and it had not been possible to embark on striking innovations on account of the financial position and the necessity of most rigid economy. The justification for a cautious policy would be found in the results achieved last few years. Nevertheless they had made experiments such as reduction of third class passenger fare in the North-West Railway. The result of this had not been encouraging as working expenses on it were greater than the increased revenue. Still the experiment had been extended to the G. I. P. and the system of cheap return fares had been introduced in the E. B. Railway. The Government would not slacken the pursuit of economy and at the same time there should be specialised research not only on the technical side for which the Standing Finance Committee agreed to enlarge the research organisation, but also in continuous ascertainment of public needs and meeting them on the economic basis. The House then adjourned.

#### PAYMENT OF WAGES BILL

**21st FEBRUARY:**—After questions, the Assembly resumed discussion of the Payment of Wages Bill. Mr. *Bardoloi* said that unless the persons appointed to inspect

non-Assamese and urged the employment of the people of the province many of whom had returned with overseas training, but found no opening because the headquarters of the railways were in Calcutta and Chittagong.

Mr. *Mathradas Vissanji* lodged a vigorous protest against the restoration of the salary cut when no relief was given to the taxpayer by way of reduction of railway rates. It was unjust to restore the salary cut when even with the recovery noticeable in the movement of goods and consequent traffic receipts there would be a deficit in working the railways. When the railways were not able to make any contribution to the general revenues for the last five years, there should not have been restoration of the salary cut. In no democratically run Government servicemen could have been given preference over the taxpayer.

Dr. *P. N. Banerjee* joined Mr. Mathradas Vissanji in the complaint that retrenchment operations had not been carried out adequately before the salary cut was restored. He suggested that a surplus budget was possible by Indianisation and amalgamation of the different railways and grouping of them on a regional basis and also by increasing the earnings through reduction of rates. He was not satisfied with the concession in respect of reduction of the surcharge on coal which he wanted to be removed.

Mr. *Sri Prakasha* joined in the plea for cutting down the salaries of officers and supported the restoration of salary cut only in the case of employees drawing below Rs. 100 per mensem. He made several suggestions whereby railway administrations might at a small cost educate passengers in the elements of civic duty and suggested changes in the design of lavatories, particularly in third class compartments.

Mr. *V. V. Giri* said that while railway finances were improving year by year, no consolation was coming to the forty-seven thousand unemployed railway workers whose hardships could have been avoided only if railways had paid any heed to the suggestions made in that connection by the Railwaymen's Union. The speaker referred to the surplus stock of engines and wished these engines to be manufactured in India. It was a scandal that Government had been replying to all questions since 1921 that the matter about the construction of engines locally was under consideration. As regards the railroad competition he wanted the railways to save the one hundred and ninety lakhs of rupees which they were annually losing in it. This could be done by taking over the bus services running parallel to trains.

Sir *Joseph Bhore*, replying to the debate, first took up the question of coal contracts on which allegations and even insinuations had appeared in certain papers stating that the Railway Board unduly favoured smaller Indian-owned companies. The allegation was baseless, as he would show. Sir Joseph Bhore reminded the House that the railways were forced to run their own collieries and could meet all requirements from them. However, with a view to helping the coal industry they took a self-denying action and limited their own output to one-third and bought two-third from the market. He hoped that after this explanation they would not hear the allegations and insinuations repeated. As regards competition between shipping companies, the railways were justified in the steps they had taken. Railways had the minimum limit. He asked, was it contended by the shipping companies that they could not carry piece-goods and gunny between Calcutta and Bombay at rates lower than the railways? How did they carry rice at lower rates between Rangoon and Bombay? (Hear, hear). Continuing, Sir Joseph Bhore recognised the necessity of improving the services so that they would be able to meet larger customs and popularise the railways against competitive services. But times had been hard and it had not been possible to embark on striking innovations on account of the financial position and the necessity of most rigid economy. The justification for a cautious policy would be found in the results achieved last few years. Nevertheless they had made experiments such as reduction of third class passenger fare in the North-West Railway. The result of this had not been encouraging as working expenses on it were greater than the increased revenue. Still the experiment had been extended to the G. I. P. and the system of cheap return fares had been introduced in the E. B. Railway. The Government would not slacken the pursuit of economy and at the same time there should be specialised research not only on the technical side for which the Standing Finance Committee agreed to enlarge the research organisation, but also in continuous ascertainment of public needs and meeting them on the economic basis. The House then adjourned.

#### PAYMENT OF WAGES BILL

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employment. The real class deserving support was the poor middle class and he hoped that when the budget was presented the House would put up the taxable minimum to two thousand. The pity was that under the present Constitution the Opposition had to take an irresponsible view. That was why they were backing an amendment which, if they were in office, they would not have done.

*Mr. Mohanlal Saksena* attacked the Government for not tackling unemployment among the people which he said was even sapping the morale of the masses and was therefore a source of great danger to the peaceful growth of society. A stage had now come when something must be done. He supported Mr. Joshi's amendment.

*Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq* voiced what he called people's view in this matter. He realised that at present the task of giving effect to the recommendations of the convention was stupendous, but the Government could surely move in the matter. At the time of prosperity they should stop extravagance and cut down expenses. The Government officials helped themselves extravagantly and thus filled their pockets. Therefore it was no wonder that nothing was left for the betterment of the condition of the people.

*Mr. Clow* added that during the five years there had been a diminution of about two and a half per cent. annually in the number of employed, but as against that, for every one man thrown out of employment, there had been ten vacancies. He made two propositions which he asked the House to accept. Firstly, in normal times people had been able to get continuous employment. Secondly, even in the last few years, which had been the worst ever known the number of workers unemployed for any substantial period had been extremely small. He ventured to say that no other country except possibly Japan had shown such results. (Cheers). Besides the question of the administrative difficulties of working the insurance system the speaker was sure that the ordinary workman in this country would resent any weekly or monthly deductions for the benefit of a limited class in which the worker did not expect to find himself. In other countries labour itself had started such a scheme. There was no sign of that in India. He asked Mr. Chetty whether, if his suggestions were accepted and two crores representing the salary cut were handed over to the Congress, the latter would devote that money to an employment insurance scheme or any other more urgent class of activity. Further, when they asked the Government to start the scheme in their factories, they must remember that the cost would fall on the tax-payers who were the masses of agriculturists. Did they think that the agriculturist was so wealthy as to bear the burden with a view to relieving unemployment among the workers in the cities? (*Mr. Ranga*: Communal trouble again). *Mr. Clow* observed that the Whitley Commission had found no basis for insurance. He suggested that the resources of this country should be seriously limited and be better employed for measures of prevention rather than of cure. They should rather swell the volume of employment than to give the benefits for being unemployed. The Government's attitude had been that they had taken steps to stimulate employment which method was sounder than proceeding on the western model. (Cheers).

*Sir Frank Noyce*, replying to the debate, said that he had very little to add to what *Mr. Clow* had said on behalf of Government. If he had asked the Assembly to ratify the convention then he would have been accused of giving a blow to the industry. Unemployment was bad, but that was not the question before the House. They had to decide whether India could afford to carry out the recommendations of the convention. He emphasised that India was not ripe for a system of unemployment insurance, because it was too extensive. Moreover, under the new constitution unemployment would become a provincial subject and it would be wrong for him to accept the resolution.

*Mr. Joshi's* amendment to the effect that the Assembly having considered the draft convention "such steps legislative and otherwise should be taken for the relief of unemployment as would lead to the ratification of the draft convention and acceptance of the recommendation as soon as practicable" was put to vote and a tie of 52 votes for and 52 votes against was announced by the President amidst roars of laughter. The President gave his casting vote in favour of *Mr. Joshi's* amendment, his decision being received by loud and prolonged non-official applause.

The amended resolution was then put and of the two neutral members one joined the Government and the other the opposition. The result was that the Government got 54 votes against the opposition's 53 and defeated the amended resolution. The result when announced was cheered by Government. It created a stalemate in that neither the Government resolution nor *Mr. Joshi's* amendment was accepted and the

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of Police. The speaker maintained that it was the grievance of the people that justice was not done in the majority of cases and that was why appeals were not preferred against the orders of District Magistrate.

Sir *Henry Craik*, replying to the debate, said that the Bill affected only the Punjab, Burma, the N. W. F. P. and a small part of Bihar. None had unfortunately spoken for Burma. As for the Punjab the speaker had a lifelong experience of the province. The figures for the Punjab showed that at least three Additional Sessions Judges would be required to hear such appeals. During the twelve years of his membership of the Punjab Council he had never heard any suggestion for such a change. In any case the proposal would mean a heavy financial burden and the local Council would resent having to find extra money. He asked the House to reject the motion.

Mr. *Satyamurthi* said that it was essential that the appellate court must start the trial with the presumption that the accused was innocent and this attitude of mind was absent from the mind of District Magistrates. Mr. Satyamurthi said that question revealed the temperament of District Magistrates, against which they were planning safeguards.

Mr. Jinnah said that if the Government were serious, they should have brought convincing figures to show that financially the proposition was unacceptable.

*Sardar Sant Singh*, replying to the debate, contested Sir Henry Craik's point that opinion in the Punjab Council did not favour reform. He reminded him of the appointment of a committee under a judge which recommended separation of judicial and executive functions. The motion for Select Committee was put and carried by 66 to 55 votes.

#### COASTAL TRAFFIC RESERVATION BILL\*

Seven new Bills were introduced. Dr. *Ziauddin Ahmed* introduced a Bill to reserve the coastal traffic of India to Indian vessels.

**\*History of the Bill :** As the result of Sir Sivaswamy Iyer's resolution in the Assembly the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee was appointed by the Government in 1923. This committee recommended practically unanimously that India's coastal trade should be reserved for shipping companies, the controlling interests in which are predominantly Indian. As the Government did not take any action on this recommendation non-official members like Mr. K. C. Neogy and Mr. S. N. Haji introduced bills to reserve India's coastal trade to Indian owned and Indian managed vessels. Mr. Haji's bill passed the first reading in the Assembly by a large majority in 1928, and was referred to a select committee which submitted its report. When it came before the Assembly in 1929 further progress was checked by convening a shipping conference by Lord Irwin in January, 1930, which proved abortive, and also by the boycott of legislature by the Swarajists. In the last Assembly Mr. B. V. Jadava, who represented Mr. Haji's constituency, gave notice of the bill but the ballot box did not favour him through four years. Fate has now favoured Dr. Ziauddin who secured the first place in the list of private bills for the meeting of February 27.

It was pointed out in Assembly circles that the Government of India were definitely committed to the policy of assisting the development of the Indian mercantile marine, although they did not take legislative or administrative action to further such object. In 1930 Sir George Rainey, then Commerce Member, declared adherence of the Government to the policy of providing for an adequate participation of Indian shipping in the coastal and overseas trade of India. In 1932 Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Officiating Commerce Member, speaking on the resolution regarding rate war, gave an undertaking to facilitate the growth and expansion of the coastal trade of India in so far as that coastal trade is operated by Indian agencies and through the instrumentality of Indian capital.

But the present position of Indian shipping does not bear testimony to the fulfilment of that undertaking. In the coastal trade of India the share of Indian shipping is barely 23 per cent. which the Indian interests have maintained in face of international law, maritime law practice and imperial legislation. It is also pointed out that the share of Indian shipping in overseas trade is absolutely nil.

It will be remembered that Indian shipping interests have had to enter into some working arrangements with British shipping interests probably for sheer existence. But legislation is not deemed to be committed to that agreement.

The re-introduction of the Bill indicates that legislature will insist that Indian shipping live on its own rights and not as a favour from British shipping which has at present the directing and controlling hand.

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The re-introduction of the Bill indicates that legislature will insist that Indian shipping live on its own rights and not as a favour from British shipping which has at present the directing and controlling hand.

5. (1) Applications for licences may be made within the period fixed under sub-section (1) of section 4.

(2) Every such application shall be in the prescribed form, and shall contain a declaration signed by the applicant stating whether the ship in respect of which the application is made, is an Indian-controlled ship and such particulars as may be prescribed to enable the Governor-General-in-Council to satisfy himself as to the accuracy of such declaration.

6. (1) The Governor-General-in-Council may, subject to the conditions hereinafter contained in section 7, after considering the applications, issue licences in the prescribed form and on the prescribed conditions to ships of an aggregate tonage not exceeding the tonage determined under sub-section (2) of section 4.

(2) A license shall be valid only for the year in respect of which it is issued.

(3) Before issuing a licence, the Governor-General-in-Council may require from the person applying therefor such security, not exceeding fifty thousand rupees, as the Governor-General-in-Council may think fit, for compliance with the conditions thereof.

7. (1) In respect of the first year after the commencement of this Act, licences shall be issued to all Indian-controlled ships in respect of which applications for licences have been received which were Indian-controlled ships on the day of.

(2) In respect of the second, third and fourth years, licences shall be reserved for Indian-controlled ships to an aggregate tonage of two-fifths, and four-fifths respectively, of the tonage determined for the year under sub-section (2) of section 4.

(3) In respect of every year after the fourth year, licences shall be issued to Indian-controlled ships only.

Provided that if, after every application for a licence in respect of an Indian-controlled ship has been considered, the aggregate tonnage of the Indian-controlled ships which have been licenced is less, in the second, third or fourth year, than the tonage upto which licences have been reserved for Indian-controlled ships under sub-section (2), or, in any year after the fourth year, than the tonage determined under the sub-section (2) of section 4, the deficiency may be made good by the issue of licences to ships other than Indian-controlled ships.

8. If the Governor-General-in-Council is satisfied that—

(a) no licensed ship is available for, or that the service rendered by licensed ships is inadequate to the needs of, the Coastal Traffic to or from any ports in British India, and

(b) it is desirable in the public interest to take action in this behalf.

the Governor-General-in-Council may issue permits in the prescribed form to unlicensed ships to engage for a period not exceeding three months in Coastal Traffic, subject to such conditions as may be specified in the permits, and nothing in section 3 shall apply to a ship to which such a permit has been issued during the continuance of the permit.

9. (1) Any person who—

(a) is the owner, charter or agent or has command or, charge of a ship which contravenes the provisions of section 3, or

(b) contravenes the conditions of a licence, or

(c) signs a false statement or false declaration in an application for a licence, knowing the same to be false,

shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to thousand rupees, or with both.

(2) Where a person punishable under sub-section (1) is a company, corporation, partnership, or association, any secretary, director or other officer or person concerned with the management thereof shall be punishable as provided in that sub-section, unless he proves that the offence was committed without his knowledge or without his consent.

10. (1) If the Governor-General-in-Council is satisfied that there has been a breach of the conditions of a licence, or that any licence has been issued upon an application which contains a false statement or false declaration, the Governor-General-in-Council may cancel the licence.

Provided that no licence shall be so cancelled unless the holder thereof has been given an opportunity to show cause against the cancellation or has been convicted of an offence under clause (b) or clause (c) of sub-section (1) of section 9 in respect thereof.

(2) Where any licence is cancelled under this section in consequence of a breach of the conditions thereof, the Governor-General-in-Council may direct that any security taken under sub-section (3) of section 6 for compliance with such conditions shall be forfeited either in whole or in part.

5. (1) Applications for licences may be made within the period fixed under sub-section (1) of section 4.

(2) Every such application shall be in the prescribed form, and shall contain a declaration signed by the applicant stating whether the ship in respect of which the application is made, is an Indian-controlled ship and such particulars as may be prescribed to enable the Governor-General-in-Council to satisfy himself as to the accuracy of such declaration.

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(2) Where any licence is cancelled under this section in consequence of a breach of the conditions thereof, the Governor-General-in-Council may direct that any security taken under sub-section (3) of section 6 for compliance with such conditions shall be forfeited either in whole or in part.

Rs. 5 lakhs were required for the provision of country mills for the crushing of sugarcane which could not be sent to the factories. It was further decided that the Central Government would assist the Government of Bihar and Orissa in reconstructing Government property which had been damaged by the earthquake to the extent of providing one-half of the total capital expenditure involved and financing the remainder from the Provincial Loans Fund. The Local Government now anticipate that the grant required from us in this connection will amount to Rs. 51 lakhs. It was originally proposed that this should be treated as capital expenditure and should not be debited to the special suspense account, but in view of the large increase in the surplus for 1933-34 we now think it more convenient to meet this expenditure also from the suspense account. So far as Bihar is concerned, therefore, the total liability of the Central Government amounts to Rs. 1,25 lakhs 'plus' 5 'plus' 51, a total of Rs. 1,81 lakhs. In addition to this we shall need about Rs. 6 lakhs for the repair of earthquake damage in Bengal and we have also certain contingent liabilities in respect of loans granted to individuals in Bihar whose property was damaged by the earthquake, since it was agreed that in certain circumstances the Central Government would meet part of any loss which may result from the failure of the Local Government to recover these loans. So far as it is possible to judge at present, this liability will not amount to a very large sum, but in order to have a margin for unforeseen contingencies we propose to retain in the suspense account a total sum of Rs. 2,10 lakhs. This leaves Rs. 62 lakhs to be carried forward to fortify the balance of the current year.

#### FINANCIAL YEAR 1934-35

I now turn to the current year 1934-35. Our revised forecast shows a material improvement over the original budget anticipations and the surplus is now expected to be Rs. 3,27 lakhs instead of 10 lakhs. The difference is made up of an improvement in revenue of Rs. 3,87 lakhs and a deterioration of Rs. 70 lakhs in expenditure.

Incidentally, I must here make an apology to my predecessor for a somewhat gloomy remark I made last August as to the prospects of realising his revenue estimates. I ought to have known better than to turn myself into a prophet on so slight an acquaintance with India. It would also be fitting that I should pay a tribute to him for the hard and unpleasant work he performed in securing budgetary equilibrium in this country and express my sympathy that the fruits of his unremitting toil should not have fallen to him before his departure.

The actual figures, excluding Railways, are as follows :—

	(Lakhs)	
	Budget	Revised
	1934-35	1934-35
Revenue	...	87,13
Expenditure	...	87,03
Surplus	...	10      3,27

Full detail are of course given in the Financial Secretary's memorandum but I should perhaps call attention to a few of the more important variations.

#### REVENUE

*Customs etc.*—On the Revenue side the surplus in the main is due to Customs, etc. the principal items being :—

	Lakhs.
Sugar	...      1,38
Cotton fabrics	...      90
Yarn and textile fabrics other than artificial silk	...      80

There have also been increases under motor cars, machinery, petrol and kerosene, decreases in the export duties on jute and rice and in the excise duties on matches. The actual figure for the export duty on jute—to which I shall have to return later—is Rs. 3,40 lakhs as compared with the Budget Estimate of Rs. 3,80 lakhs.

*Interest.*—Apart from Customs, etc., the only Revenue item I need mention specially is Interest. Here, although the head discloses an increase of Rs. 26 lakhs only, this is made up of a considerable reduction of rupee, combined with a somewhat greater increase of sterling, receipts. The latter is due to our increased sterling balances but the former calls for more detailed comment.

The budget estimates for the current year provided for a receipt of Rs. 67 lakhs on account of interest on the loan granted to Bhawalpur State. During the year we

Rs. 5 lakhs were required for the provision of country mills for the crushing of sugarcane which could not be sent to the factories. It was further decided that the Central Government would assist the Government of Bihar and Orissa in reconstructing Government property which had been damaged by the earthquake to the extent of providing one-half of the total capital expenditure involved and financing the remainder from the Provincial Loans Fund. The Local Government now anticipate that the grant required from us in this connection will amount to Rs. 51 lakhs. It was originally proposed that this should be treated as capital expenditure and should not be debited to the special suspense account, but in view of the large increase in the surplus for 1933-34 we now think it more convenient to meet this expenditure also from the suspense account. So far as Bihar is concerned, therefore, the total liability of the Central Government amounts to Rs. 1,25 lakhs 'plus' 5 'plus' 51, a total of Rs. 1,81 lakhs. In addition to this we shall need about Rs. 6 lakhs for the repair of earthquake damage in Bengal and we have also certain contingent liabilities in respect of loans granted to individuals in Bihar whose property was damaged by the earthquake, since it was agreed that in certain circumstances the Central Government would meet part of any loss which may result from the failure of the Local Government to recover these loans. So far as it is possible to judge at present, this liability will not amount to a very large sum, but in order to have a margin for unforeseen contingencies we propose to retain in the suspense account a total sum of Rs. 2,10 lakhs. This leaves Rs. 62 lakhs to be carried forward to fortify the balance of the current year.

#### FINANCIAL YEAR 1934-35

I now turn to the current year 1934-35. Our revised forecast shows a material improvement over the original budget anticipations and the surplus is now expected to be Rs. 3,27 lakhs instead of 10 lakhs. The difference is made up of an improvement in revenue of Rs. 3,87 lakhs and a deterioration of Rs. 70 lakhs in expenditure.

Incidentally, I must here make an apology to my predecessor for a somewhat gloomy remark I made last August as to the prospects of realising his revenue estimates. I ought to have known better than to turn myself into a prophet on so slight an acquaintance with India. It would also be fitting that I should pay a tribute to him for the hard and unpleasant work he performed in securing budgetary equilibrium in this country and express my sympathy that the fruits of his unremitting toil should not have fallen to him before his departure.

The actual figures, excluding Railways, are as follows :—

	(Lakhs)	
	Budget	Revised
	1934-35	1934-35
Revenue	...	87,13
Expenditure	...	87,03
Surplus	...	10      3,27

Full detail are of course given in the Financial Secretary's memorandum but I should perhaps call attention to a few of the more important variations.

#### REVENUE

*Customs etc.*—On the Revenue side the surplus in the main is due to Customs, etc. the principal items being :—

	Lakhs.
Sugar	...      1,38
Cotton fabrics	...      90
Yarn and textile fabrics other than artificial silk	...      80

There have also been increases under motor cars, machinery, petrol and kerosene, decreases in the export duties on jute and rice and in the excise duties on matches. The actual figure for the export duty on jute—to which I shall have to return later—is Rs. 3,40 lakhs as compared with the Budget Estimate of Rs. 3,80 lakhs.

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*Posts and Telegraphs.*—Finally I should say a word about Posts and Telegraphs. The position is as follows :—

	( L a k h s . )	
	Budget	Revised
	1933-34	1934-35
Gross receipts	...	10.71
Working expenses	...	10.01
		<hr/>
Net receipts	...	70
Interest Charges	...	84
		<hr/>
Balance—	...	14 plus 14

We thus estimate that the year will close with a net surplus of Rs. 14 lakhs which as compared with the deficit of Rs. 14 lakhs was anticipated. The improvement is mainly due to increased sales of stamps, and it is satisfactory that this Department which since 1927-28 has been working at a loss in this year expected to show a small profit. But it is unfortunately not quite so satisfactory as it looks, for it will be remembered that it was decided to draw on the Depreciation Fund to the extent of Rs. 27 lakhs and to that extent, therefore, the accounts do not show a true picture.

#### POSITIONS AS AT 31ST MARCH 1935-36. REVENUE.

On the figures, which I have so far explained to the House, we shall, at the end of March next, have in hand two surpluses, one for 1933-34 of Rs. 62 lakhs and one for 1934-35 of Rs. 3.27 lakhs making Rs. 3.89 lakhs in all. I shall return to the disposal of this amount later on. In the meantime I turn to the estimates for the coming year 1935-36.

#### FINANCIAL YEAR 1935-36. REVENUE.

The total revenue, excluding Railways, may be put at Rs. 90.19 lakhs or 8 lakhs less than the revised estimate for the current year.

Customs, etc.—Here I estimate for Rs. 51.92 lakhs altogether or an increase of Rs. 75 lakhs over the revised figures for the current year. The main variations are a decline of Rs. 2 crores in the import duty on sugar combined with increases of Rs. 35 lakhs on the sugar excise, of Rs. 65 lakhs on the match excise and of Rs. 43 lakhs on kerosene and petrol. It is of course a matter of great difficulty to frame an accurate estimate of customs, etc., revenue at a time when there are so many uncertain factors at work. The uncertainty applies in a particular measure to the sugar duties. As I have already stated, our estimates for the current year have been revised to show an increase of Rs. 1.70 lakhs in the import duty and a decline of Rs. 32 lakhs in excise—the original figures being Rs. 2.05 and 1.47 lakhs respectively, and the revised Rs. 3.75 and 1.15 lakhs. We cannot, however, anticipate that the revenue from the import duty will remain at so high a figure in 1935-36 and the increased revenue to be expected from the excise duty will by no means compensate for this inevitable reduction. During the period when Indian factories were not working at their full strength, imports have been substantial, but when Indian production reaches its full level, imports of foreign sugar for ordinary consumption will almost disappear, and there will only be certain small imports of the finer varieties of sugar. This process may not, however, be completed during 1935-36 and the best forecast we can make is to assume an import revenue of Rs. 1.75 lakhs and an excise yield of Rs. 1.50 lakhs. The increase in petrol and kerosene is due to normal growth and that in the match excise merely represents a full instead of a part year's yield of the duty.

The changes in the estimates are set out in greater detail in the Financial Secretary's memorandum.

Taxes on Income.—During the current year there has been an undoubted improvement in the financial position of some of the more important industries, but this improvement will only be partially reflected in our Income-tax returns for 1935-36. I therefore estimate for an improvement of no more than Rs. 51 lakhs and of this Rs. 16 lakhs is due to the additional tax recovered from Government servants on account of the restored pay-cut. The actual figures are Rs. 17.76 for 1935-36.

Opium.—Our estimate under this head is Rs. 61 lakhs as compared with Rs. 71 lakhs for the current financial year. This is based on the assumption that only 257 chests of opium will be exported during 1935-36. As Hon'ble Members are aware, this source of income will practically cease at the end of the present calendar year.

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There is only one other item which I wish specifically to mention at this stage and that is the provision for the reduction and avoidance of debt. As Hon'ble Members are aware our revised estimates for 1933-34 and those for the current financial year included only Rs. 3 crores for this purpose. It is of course a matter of common knowledge that 60 per cent of the Government of India debt is attributable to the Railways and it seems to me that it would be imposing too heavy a burden on the general Budget to revert to the Sinking Fund arrangements in force prior to 1933-34 before the Railways have resumed the practice of making a contribution to the General Revenues. I therefore accept as reasonable for the time being the provision of Rs. 3 crores now prevailing but I should like to make it clear that, in my view, an increased provision for debt reduction ought to be a first charge on any contribution from the Railways in the future.

It is interesting here to compare the budget expenditure, actual or estimated as the case may be, for the years 1931-32 onwards and in order to get a fair basis of comparison, I deduct in every case the provision for debt reduction and avoidance and take net figures for Interest, Posts and Telegraphs and Defence.

1931-32	1932-33	1933-34
Actual.	Actual.	Actual.
88.78	80.59	75.97
<u>1934-35</u>	<u>1934-35</u>	<u>1935-36</u>
Budget.	Revised.	Budget.
78.12	78.53	80.06

The lowest year was 1933-34. The estimate for 1935-36 shows a net increase from this low level of Rs. 4.09 lakhs. Of this, Rs. 1.79 lakhs is due to the grant of a share of the jute duty to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam, Rs. 1.30 lakhs is due to the increased provision for bonus on Cash Certificates and Rs. 1.08 lakhs represents the cost of restoring the second half of the pay cut. Apart from these changes the remarkable economies made in Defence and other charges have not only been maintained but extended.

The final position for 1935-36 is thus as follows :—

Revenue	90.19 lakhs
Expenditure	88.69 "
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Surplus	1.50 lakhs

Before explaining our proposals for dealing with the surplus of Rs. 1.50 lakhs which we anticipate in the year 1935-36 and with the accrued balance of Rs. 3.89 lakhs left over from previous years, I shall turn aside to deal briefly with the ways and means position.

First of all let me refer to the changes due to the inauguration of the Reserve Bank. As has already been announced, the assets of the Currency Department will be transferred to the Bank with effect from the 1st of April 1935. From that date the Reserve Bank will be responsible for the maintenance of the currency, for the investment of the currency reserves in rupees and sterling and for supplying the Secretary of State with sterling for his London requirements. The effect of this on our ways and means estimates will be twofold. In the first place once the new system is in full operation, the Secretary of State will not maintain a large balance in London than is necessary for his day to day transactions with the Bank of England. He will not, as he does at present, hold surplus funds for temporary investment until he requires them. For this reason you will see that at the end of the next year we have provided for the reduction of this balance to a nominal amount of £500,000. To begin with, as it is not contemplated that the Reserve Bank will assume its full banking business until about the beginning of July, it seemed desirable, in order to avoid the necessity of his coming to the Bank for his sterling requirements during that period, to provide him with a sufficiently large opening balance to meet his requirements up to July.

The second change is consequent on the creation of a Silver Redemption Reserve. A memorandum on this subject was submitted to the Joint Select Committee on the Reserve Bank Bill, but the Committee recommended that the Government proposals should be further studied by the Legislature. In accordance with their recommendation the memorandum was submitted to the Standing Finance Committee at a meeting held on the 20th of March 1934, and the Committee expressed their general approval of the arrangements suggested. The proposal which was placed before the Committee was in brief that after the inauguration of the Reserve Bank the proceeds of any

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loans we have been able to repay Rs. 19,48 lakhs of 4 per cent loan 1934-37 and Rs. 12,94 lakhs of 4 and a half per cent bonds 1934.

Both of the new issues stand well above their original price. Next year we shall have to provide for the repayment of Rs. 16 crores of 6 and a half per cent Treasury Bonds 1935, and Rs. 11,4 crores of 5 per cent Bonds 1935. We have also the option of repaying £11.9 millions of 6 per cent Sterling Bonds 1935-37 and £3 and a half millions of East Indian Railway 4 and a half per cent debenture stock 1935-55. The total amount of loans which we can repay or convert is thus approximately Rs. 48 crores. In addition to this we are, as I have just said, providing for the repayment of the Bombay Development Loan 1935, and we expect to reduce the total amount of treasury bills outstanding by a further Rs. 3 and a half crores. Allowing for a remittance of £26 million we anticipate that we could meet all these liabilities without raising more than Rs. 25 crores by fresh borrowing, but of course the amount, time and manner of our borrowing, will depend entirely on market conditions during the year.

I now come to our proposals both in regard to the balance of Rs. 3,89 lakhs which we expect to have at 31st March next and to the surplus of Rs. 1,50 lakhs which we estimate for 1935-36. The former is of course non-recurrent and is only available for non-recurring purposes. The latter represents the maximum limit of the sums which can be devoted to tax-reduction during the year 1935-36.

To take the non-recurrent balance of Rs. 3,89 lakhs first we consider that the needs of the rural areas should have the first claim on this and we have decided to set aside a sum of Rs. 1,00 lakhs for distribution to the provinces to be spent on schemes for the economic development and improvement of such areas. I recognise that it may be contended that schemes for rural development are primarily the function of Provincial Governments, whether those schemes take the form of the introduction of improved methods of agriculture, the establishment of industries to give employment to, and increase the income of, the cultivators, or measures designed to effect a general improvement in the condition of village life. It is a problem to which all local Governments are fully alive and to which Provincial Ministers in particular have devoted much attention, since these matters were entrusted to them. Schemes have been examined and worked out but unfortunately many of them are still merely paper schemes, for even before the financial stringency of recent years some Local Governments could only devote very inadequate funds to those purposes and in the recent years of crisis and retrenchment it has been impossible for any Local Government to find money for new projects however likely they were to contribute to the prosperity of the province. We feel therefore that now when the Central Government fortunately happens to have balances on which it can draw we cannot do better than make some share of it available to the provinces to carry out schemes which have been held up and thereby show that the Government of India have a very deep concern with the welfare and prosperity of the cultivators and are prepared to help Local Governments to carry out schemes for their benefit.

I have used the expression economic development and improvement of rural areas and I have indicated that I use that expression in a wide sense to cover any measure which will conduce to the amelioration of the conditions of the cultivators and rural classes. One such measure is the Co-operative Movement and we have for the last 7 or 8 months had an expert on duty under the Central Government to examine how the movement stands. Mr. Darling who has acquired great experience of the movement in the Punjab has been touring round the provinces discussing the question with Local Governments and Provincial Registrar. We propose to earmark a sum of Rs. 10 to 15 lakhs out of the crore which I have mentioned and this, we hope, will enable Governments to develop the movement on sound financial foundations. Details of the measures and the conditions on which the grants will be given will be settled after we have considered Mr. Darling's Report.

As regards the remaining Rs. 85 to 90 lakhs I do not propose at present to define very closely the terms on which it will be distributed to the Provinces or the purposes for which it will be used. I may, however, say that we shall probably adopt the basis of rural population for distribution and we shall certainly impose the two following conditions :—

(1) that the grant should be spent on schemes approved by the Government of India which will improve the economic position of the people, and

(2) that it will be devoted only to schemes which the Local Government would not otherwise have been able to undertake in the immediate future.

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- (1) that the grant should be spent on schemes approved by the Government of India which will improve the economic position of the people, and
- (2) that it will be devoted only to schemes which the Local Government would not otherwise have been able to undertake in the immediate future.

The first of these is the additional import duty on salt. Personally I am very doubtful whether this duty can ever achieve the purpose for which it was designed. I have moreover a good deal of sympathy with the views which have in the past been expressed by Hon'ble Members from Bengal that an impost which has the effect of helping the producers of Aden at the expense of the consumers of Bengal is fundamentally unfair. In any case the duty will require reconsideration in view of the impending separation of Aden and Burma. Taking all these things into consideration I was disposed to think that the duty ought to be abolished at once but that would perhaps have been a little harsh to the vested interests which have grown up and I shall therefore propose to the House that the duty shall be extended for one year, without prejudice to any action which Government may see fit to take at the end of that year. I hope that this extension will be accepted by the House though I should perhaps make it clear that, if it should prefer to remove the duty at once, in this matter at any rate we should accept its decision. Incidentally we do not propose to make any change in the arrangements for the distribution of the proceeds of the duty.

The next is silver and here we propose to reduce the duty to 2 annas an ounce. This action is dictated by no theory as to the place to be taken by silver in the monetary economy of the world nor has it any connection with the view sometimes expressed that India should be encouraged to build up her hoards of the metal. It is simply a matter of business. There is no doubt that at the present level the duty is encouraging smuggling, there is no doubt that this smuggling is extremely difficult to prevent and there is no doubt that the honest trader is being injured by the illicit trade which is being carried on. At the lower level which we now propose smuggling should become unprofitable and the honest trader will come into his own. I propose to assume that we shall get the same yield from the 2 annas as would have been obtained from the 5 annas duty which is, I think, fully justified by the circumstances in which the reduction is taking place. The reduction will take place immediately by notification.

The third change of a minor order is the abolition of the export duty on raw skins. During the eight months ending 30th November 1934 the export trade in raw skins declined in volume, as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year, from 13,133 tons to 8,933 tons and in value from Rs. 2,24 lakhs to Rs. 1,19 lakhs. We all believe of course that the most necessary factor in India's economic recovery is a revival of her export trade. Many of us feel angry and humiliated at our inability to suggest any positive action designed to promote that end apart from international action of a kind which is not at present likely to be taken, namely, a general agreement to reduce tariffs and quotas. But here is one case, though unfortunately only a small one, where some action is possible within the bounds of our available resources and I think that it should be taken. The change will take place as from the 1st April and the loss of revenue will be Rs. 8 lakhs.

We still have Rs. 1,42 lakhs left to dispose of and I propose to do this in accordance with the pledge of my predecessor in which he said : "Relief must come first in restoring the emergency cuts in pay and secondly in taking off the surcharge on the income tax now to be imposed."

Although the tax on smaller incomes was not strictly a surcharge, it does, I think, come within the spirit of the pledge and I propose to deal with it and the surcharges on income-tax and super-tax together. The removal of the surcharges altogether would cost Rs. 3,34 lakhs a year while the removal of the tax on incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 would cost a further Rs. 75 lakhs. Clearly with a surplus of Rs. 1,42 lakhs only we cannot remove the whole of the two surcharges and the quasi-surcharge but what we can do is to reduce them all by one-third and this is what I in fact propose. The cost will be Rs. 1,36 lakhs leaving us with a purely nominal surplus of Rs. 6 lakhs.

Clearly this Budget will completely satisfy very few people. It certainly does not satisfy me. There are many who will bitterly complain that it has not been possible to remove the whole of the emergency taxes on income. I myself am extremely disappointed that it has not been possible to take the first steps in the revision of our revenue tariff in a downward direction. Certainly that tariff is too high, certainly it is far too complicated and on both counts it is a restraint on trade and recovery. No doubt, I shall be told that if only I had exercised a little more imagination, both of these desirable objects could have been achieved but do not let us forget that imaginative financiers usually end up in gaol. In any case we have before us the

The first of these is the additional import duty on salt. Personally I am very doubtful whether this duty can ever achieve the purpose for which it was designed. I have moreover a good deal of sympathy with the views which have in the past been expressed by Hon'ble Members from Bengal that an impost which has the effect of helping the producers of Aden at the expense of the consumers of Bengal is fundamentally unfair. In any case the duty will require reconsideration in view of the impending separation of Aden and Burma. Taking all these things into consideration I was disposed to think that the duty ought to be abolished at once but that would perhaps have been a little harsh to the vested interests which have grown up and I shall therefore propose to the House that the duty shall be extended for one year, without prejudice to any action which Government may see fit to take at the end of that year. I hope that this extension will be accepted by the House though I should perhaps make it clear that, if it should prefer to remove the duty at once, in this matter at any rate we should accept its decision. Incidentally we do not propose to make any change in the arrangements for the distribution of the proceeds of the duty.

The next is silver and here we propose to reduce the duty to 2 annas an ounce. This action is dictated by no theory as to the place to be taken by silver in the monetary economy of the world nor has it any connection with the view sometimes expressed that India should be encouraged to build up her hoards of the metal. It is simply a matter of business. There is no doubt that at the present level the duty is encouraging smuggling, there is no doubt that this smuggling is extremely difficult to prevent and there is no doubt that the honest trader is being injured by the illicit trade which is being carried on. At the lower level which we now propose smuggling should become unprofitable and the honest trader will come into his own. I propose to assume that we shall get the same yield from the 2 annas as would have been obtained from the 5 annas duty which is, I think, fully justified by the circumstances in which the reduction is taking place. The reduction will take place immediately by notification.

The third change of a minor order is the abolition of the export duty on raw skins. During the eight months ending 30th November 1934 the export trade in raw skins declined in volume, as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year, from 13,133 tons to 8,933 tons and in value from Rs. 2,24 lakhs to Rs. 1,19 lakhs. We all believe of course that the most necessary factor in India's economic recovery is a revival of her export trade. Many of us feel angry and humiliated at our inability to suggest any positive action designed to promote that end apart from international action of a kind which is not at present likely to be taken, namely, a general agreement to reduce tariffs and quotas. But here is one case, though unfortunately only a small one, where some action is possible within the bounds of our available resources and I think that it should be taken. The change will take place as from the 1st April and the loss of revenue will be Rs. 8 lakhs.

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Sir L. Hudson said the question of India's overseas trade required adaptation in its organization. Regarding Sir James Grigg's remarks that the present revenue tariff was too highly complicated, Sir L. Hudson asked him to state what steps he proposed to deal with the position. Last year an enquiry was promised into the incidence and classification of revenue tariff. He acknowledged that something was done with regard to classification. What about the incidence of revenue tariff? There was a trying need for wholesale revision. For an agricultural country like India the free list should be as comprehensive as possible, especially in regard to the articles necessary to agriculture. Where the revenue tariff was required it should be at a uniform rate applicable to as many items as possible thus making for uniformity. There was also a need for enquiry into the administration and incidence of income-tax.

*Mr. Swami Venkatachalam Chetty* emphasised that Sir James Grigg's first budget suffered from the same malady as all previous budgets, viz, overestimating expenditure and underestimating revenue. No wonder there was only a halting reduction of surcharge and the minimum taxable limit stood at Rs. 1000. Mr. Chetty criticised the military expenditure and proceeding referred to the export of gold. In this connection he objected to the remarks of Sir James Grigg that it was an exportable surplus commodity and challenged Sir James Grigg to make that statement in the House of Commons and retain his seat. Mr. Chetty maintained that it was distress gold and quoted the views of Sir Lesli Hudson made two years ago in support of his contention. He asked Sir James Grigg to compare the holding of gold per capita in India with similar holdings in other countries to judge for himself. He also objected to the reduction of revenue duties at any time which might have the effect of jeopardising the position of Indian industries.

*Dr. Banerjee* called the Finance Member as the favourite of fortune for appearing on the scene when the situation had taken a turn for better. Dealing with the claims of Bengal for financial justice the speaker urged that if the budget figures showed an improvement in the course of the year the entire proceeds of jute duty or at least a higher proportion than that proposed should be made over to enable Bengal to balance her budget and develop the beneficial services. He thanked the leader of the European group for the sympathy shown to Bengal. Referring to the taxation proposals he felt that the surcharge on super tax ought to have waited for a more favourable opportunity and persons earning below Rs. 2,000 deserved sympathy. As regards salt duty he remarked the Bengal Government had not afforded encouragement to promoters of salt manufacture but had utilized a share of the duty for other purposes. No final step should be taken in this matter without full investigation, and taken as a whole, the Finance Member's proposals tended more to benefit the rich than the poor. He held that Finance Members were devoid of imagination and lived from hand to mouth and reminded Sir James Grigg of the saying of a great authority that "Finance is not arithmetic, it is a great policy."

*Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury* thanked the Finance Member for the mercy to Assam through the proposed road development grant. He reminded the House that Assam with a revenue of two crores had a deficit of Rs. 60,00,000 and was living on continuous borrowing from the central Government. His province had no university, no High Court, no medical college, no industrial or agricultural college and was backward in every other respect. The solution of her pressing problem was not the grant of a subvention which would be subject to the vote of the central Legislature but that Assam should collect revenues from oil petrol which was at present taken away by the central Government. In fact, Assam paid 70 per cent. of its revenues to the central Government against a half which was paid by the Punjab.

*Mr. Satyanarayan Singh* said that the budget was dull, dreary, disappointing and insulting. The surplus gathered by high taxation was being utilized partly for the sinister object of counteracting the programme of the Congress in villages. He suggested the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to see that Rs. 1,00,00,000 was spent in the right direction. The loans to sufferers from earthquake were merely a drop in the ocean and rural areas were almost forgotten in the distribution. What was the need of spending a large sum on aviation when more important nation-building departments were starving?

*Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan* said that it was very easy to criticise the budget but very difficult to prepare one. He thanked the Finance Member for the proposed relief to the rural population and suggested, amidst laughter of Congress members and applause of others, that Mahatma Gandhi should place at the disposal of the Government all the funds which he proposed to spend for village uplift work. This was not the first time that the Government were launching a programme for helping rural people. He testified to the important work which the Punjab and N. W. F. P. Govern-

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*President* : No doubt strong language has been used on one side, but I would ask the other side to consider whether it would be right to use equally strong language.

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*Munshi Iswar Saran* : Because the President won't allow you to do that.

*Sir N. N. Sircar* reminded the House while that kind of language was being used by the previous speaker, they raised not a single interruption, but there were members who were over-sensitive themselves about the slightest criticism and raised a terrible howl for anything said in reply (Hear, hear, mainly from the Government benches).

*Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq* : On what item of the budget is Sir N. N. Sircar speaking?

*Sir N. N. Sircar* : The necessity of spending money on police for keeping people in order (laughter and cheers).

*Mr. N. M. Joshi* said that he could not congratulate the Finance Member as he proposed to continue the policy of the Government which aggrandized the rich and impoverished the poor. He hoped that the expenditure of a crore for rural uplift would not send the provincial governments to sleep with regard to their responsibility towards the rural population. What was really wanted in the villages was reduction of indebtedness. As regards the programme of road construction as long as it created civilising influence on the tribal people this step was in the direction.

*M.I. L. K. Maitra* was glad that the budget had minimum of prophesies and platitudes. The jute duty now fell on the producers and therefore was a land tax and should go entirely to Bengal. Every instalment of reform meant greater financial injustice to Bengal and now the monster of communalism had also been forced on Bengal. As regards the salt import duty, his constituents were prepared for the sacrifice in the larger national interest, provided the proceeds of the import duty were used entirely in developing the salt resources of Bengal.

*Mr. Mathradas Vissanji* devoted the greater part of his speech to an attack on the restoration of the salary cut and gave arguments against it. The Government of Britain which was prosperous only partially removed the cut. Why in India which was poor, the restoration should have been complete especially when relief to the taxation was so little? Not only was the surcharge removed by only one third but all other taxations remained. The postal charges were not modified and the prospect of quarter-anna postcard and half-anna letter remained remote. Why did not the Government at least restore the quarter-anna postcard which would have been appreciated by the masses?

*Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant* regretted the attitude and temper displayed by Sir N. N. Sircar over Dr. Khan's speech relating to corruption. Perhaps he was lacking in this saving grace of humour. Did not Sir Nripendra Sircar himself set the ball rolling the other day when they were discussing an important question—the J. P. C. Report. He indiscriminately charged every one in the Congress with corruption of the grossest kind or that they stole money.

*Sir N. N. Sircar* interrupting denied having ever said that Congressmen had stolen money or things of that kind.

*Pandit Pant* said that he remembered Sir N. N. Sircar having stated that the Congress had raised one crore of rupees, no accounts were published and that Congressmen had been practically exploiting the public and were using even motor cars. The fact was that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj was the treasurer of the Tilak Swaraj Fund, accounts of which were audited and presented.

*Sir N. N. Sircar*—I deny that I ever said that the account of the Tilak Swaraj Fund was not published.

*Pandit Pant* :—The vehemence of Sir N. N. Sircar's denunciation suggests that he has realised the blunder he has made. He objected to the surplus being spent on any subject like aviation or removal of the Pusa Institute and wanted not only the present surplus but all surplus of all future years should be automatically transferred to the rural reorganisation funds. The military expenditure had been said to be high by only sixty lakhs but according to Pandit Pant's reading it was one hundred and twenty lakhs. In fact the dominant characteristic of the budget was imperialism. There were the top heavy administration, fabulously high salary for higher ranks, similarly miserable pittance to lower ranks, drain of gold, then Home charges with perpetual drain, all combining to keep India in the strangle-hold of imperialism. There should be planning out of big schemes of industrialisation of the key industries (*Mr. Joshi—hear, hear*). If there was Swaraj Government he would recommend raising of a loan of one hundred crores for village uplift.

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**9th. MARCH:**—Mr. N. M. Joshi moved a cut of Rs. 100 in the demand for Posts and Telegraph Department. He raised the question that the pension of inferior services was far too inadequate to them after retirement. He said that the pension rule was made in 1860 when salaries were low. Rs. 4 was fixed for a postal peon at that time and the same was continued even now. On the other hand members of superior services got proportionate pensions even if they retired after one year.

Mr. G. V. Bewoor, Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs Department, acknowledged the very friendly criticism of the Assembly and detailed how representations of the grievances of employees were thoroughly examined. The grievances were first examined by the local officers and failing redress, the aggrieved person applied through his provincial branch to the head of the circle and if even here there was no redress, the All-India Union Office was approached when the Director-General was addressed. If still the aggrieved person wanted to pursue the matter, he could see the Member in charge of the Department in a deputation. Mr. Bewoor did not deny the existence of grievances, but the Government could redress them only if the basic principle of the department was not affected, namely, that the department, even it was not a source of revenue, must at least be able to pay its way.

Mr. Joshi withdrew his motion in view of the sympathetic reply.

Mr. F. H. Piracha moved a token cut under salt and urged an inquiry committee with a majority of non-official members of the House to investigate the question of damage done by salt range and Kheora mines and compensation to zemindars.

Mr. A. J. Raisman, Member, Central Board of Revenue pointed out that the salt range of Kheora had been in existence for a considerable time and it was not clear that the damage done to the neighbouring lands was the result of any carelessness connected with the actual working of the mines. The Government was not unsympathetic to the grievances of the neighbouring zemindars and Mr. Raisman assured them that they would again urge the Punjab Government to appoint an expert officer to investigate the causes for salinification of the soil adjoining the Kheora mines.

Khan Sahib Fazl-i-Haq Piracha was not satisfied with the Government's reply and pressed the motion which was carried without a division amidst Opposition cheers. The House then adjourned till 11th.

**11th. MARCH:**—Mr. Joshi's cut motion drawing attention to the grievances of the working classes, urging the necessity of bettering their conditions on a socialistic basis and advising Government to abandon their present policy, was rejected.

Sir Henry Craik, Home Member, could not appreciate Mr. Joshi's suggestions which he characterised as utterly impracticable. Sir Henry added that the insidious propaganda of the communists was helped financially from abroad. To suggest that Government should stand by and do nothing to check the forces that were working for blood revolution was fantastic indeed.

A demand for the adaptation of the Administration to the country's economic needs was next made by Mr. F. E. James on behalf of the European Group. Mr. James initiated discussion on the subject by a cut motion under the demand for the Executive Council which he withdrew after the Government's reply to the debate. Among the principle changes urged by Mr. James were redistribution of portfolios, including the formation of a Ministry of Communications, reorganisation of the present Commerce Department and the appointment of a small staff of economic experts to advise the Government. Turning to the procedure now followed in inquiries by the Tariff Board, Mr. James suggested that the preliminary stage of establishing a case for enquiry to the satisfaction of the Commerce Department should be abolished.

Sir James Grigg finally claimed that he had shown that the Government had prominently in mind the points raised by Mr. James and hoped that the motion would be withdrawn.

**12th. MARCH:**—Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury's motion refusing supplies to the Army Department by reducing its demand to one rupee was carried by 79 votes to 48 to-day. The object of the motion was to protest against the policy of Indianisation and over-expenditure in the military budget. Mr. Chaudhury said that Government had adopted delaying tactics in the matter. He deprecated the Government scheme of training in the military college which struck at the very root of the process of Indianisation.

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A definite feature of the New Deal was devolution of the currency, enormous creation of credit and a limitless programme of public expenditure out of the borrowed money. Pandit Pant's programme was impossible without large inflation, involving devaluation or depreciation of the rupee. The main object of such a Deal would be to raise the prices and in theory the rise of prices should at least correspond to the amount of devolution, but was that the case? He took the case of U. S. A. where the devaluation was forty per cent., while the rise of the general price index was much less. In the United Kingdom the devaluation was greater than forty percent. and the rise in prices was in the neighbourhood of ten per cent.

India had the same devaluation as the sterling, yet her price level had not risen at all, while agricultural prices had fallen disastrously.

The process of inflation could not by itself create new wealth, as Mr. Bernard Shaw had said, "You can't make a country rich by calling a penny two pence." Inflation could at best effect a purely internal transfer of wealth, but in the case of a debtor country it involved a net loss of wealth as the rise in internal prices was less than the fall in external value of the currency. India was a debtor country and differed thus from the U. S. A., so that even if the process had succeeded in America, success could by no means be predicted for India.

*Pandit G. B. Pant* spoke for over an hour mainly criticising the Finance Member's speech. He said when the world was moving forward in economic ideas, Sir James Grigg was moving to his own island of Robinson Crusoe. Sir James still hugged the policy of laissez faire to his bosom while the entire world had discarded it. But was England following the policy of laissez faire? Had not England given bounties, regulated exports and imports, established development board, economic council, co-ordinated industry and adopted Imperial preference? Pandit Pant asked whether it was not the Government of India which mixed politics with economics by linking the rupee to the sterling and giving forty per cent preference to British imports into India, by paying a higher rate of pay to British soldiers for doing the same duty as Indian soldiers, and so on? The question was how India could extricate herself from the present mess. There was little scope for export of agricultural produce and far less at a profit. As for protection, it meant a repressive tax. It raised the level of prices. It made the Government more reckless, extravagant and also led to corruption. Pandit Pant added if the Finance Member and his Government were not equal to the task they should make way for others. If National Socialism was the best remedy, why not use it? India had plenty of iron, coal and copper and if she had "Swaraj," she would launch a scheme of national reconstruction and if for that purpose a hundred crore was necessary, it could be raised. The Government was spending millions of rupees on broadcasting, yet it did not cheapen the postcard and letter rate and give the people the benefit of civilization. He urged for cheaper postage and suggested that financial provision could be made.

*Mr. F. W. Hockenhull* put forward the case of Assam for a subvention. He said that Assam's financial embarrassments were real and not due to their temporary inability to balance the budget. The existing line of taxation in Assam was never likely to furnish sufficient funds to enable it to pay its own way. There was therefore a need for development of its rich natural resources so that in time the Province might be rendered self-sufficient, but now a subvention from the Centre was inevitable.

*Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt* (Deputy President) said that the present Finance Bill was an offshoot of the Finance Bill of 1931. He reminded Sir James Grigg that revenue was not everything, and complained that the promise made by Sir George Schuster regarding surcharges had not been kept. The speaker was bound to admit that when taxes were not reduced, the surplus in the present budget must be regarded as fictitious. Restoration of the pay cut and relief in income tax should not have been resorted to without taking off all surcharges. He criticised the high cost of administration and characterised the Government of India as a Court of Wards for the whole country and after eating up all revenue nothing remained for the wards. This was a case of breach of trust.

**14th. MARCH:**—Dr. Khare said that he had not entertained any hope from the Finance Member whose budget aimed primarily to feed Government servants and pursue a policy of domination. How could Government justify the expenditure of forty-six lakhs annually on the Ecclesiastical Department consisting of White Padrees, when they professed to pursue a policy of religious neutrality?

*Mr. Baijnath Bajoria* ventilated the grievances of the commercial community. He said if the salary cut had not been restored the Central Government

A definite feature of the New Deal was devolution of the currency, enormous creation of credit and a limitless programme of public expenditure out of the borrowed money. Pandit Pant's programme was impossible without large inflation, involving devaluation or depreciation of the rupee. The main object of such a Deal would be to raise the prices and in theory the rise of prices should at least correspond to the amount of devolution, but was that the case? He took the case of U. S. A. where the devaluation was forty per cent., while the rise of the general price index was much less. In the United Kingdom the devaluation was greater than forty percent. and the rise in prices was in the neighbourhood of ten per cent.

India had the same devaluation as the sterling, yet her price level had not risen at all, while agricultural prices had fallen disastrously.

The process of inflation could not by itself create new wealth, as Mr. Bernard Shaw had said, "You can't make a country rich by calling a penny two pence." Inflation could at best effect a purely internal transfer of wealth, but in the case of a debtor country it involved a net loss of wealth as the rise in internal prices was less than the fall in external value of the currency. India was a debtor country and differed thus from the U. S. A., so that even if the process had succeeded in America, success could by no means be predicted for India.

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memory. Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* referred to the death of Mr. Sherwani and said that although he was not able to give of his best during the present session, he had in his earlier years rendered a great service to the country, both in and out of the House. Mr. Sherwani's stability of judgment made him a successful barrister. In 1923 he joined the Assembly under the leadership of Pandit Motilal Nehru and, to those who were trying to follow the traditions established by Pandit Motilal, Mr. Sherwani's death meant a break of the chain which linked them with those traditions.

Mr. Sherwani represented the citizenship of the future Free India as he observed no distinction based on race or religion. He was a tower of strength to the Congress party. He was a man big not only physically, but in mind, and biggest in heart—a gentleman fashioned by Nature to be an example to his fellowmen. Mr. Desai profoundly regretted the untimely death and proposed that a message of condolence be sent to the parents, widow and other relatives of Mr. Sherwani. He also moved that the House do adjourn out of respect to the memory of Mr. Sherwani.

#### Finance Bill Debate (*Contd*)

**23rd. MARCH :**—The Assembly resumed to-day the debate on the Finance Bill. Dr. *Bhagwan Das* said that India had never before suffered from racialism and communalism and had absorbed all foreign elements, but the British system had corrupted India's social and economic organisation. The speaker pointed out that the right attitude to adopt was that the real aim of all should be the welfare of the people.

Dr. *P. N. Banerji* said that the Government had added about 40 crores per annum to its revenue by taxation but no scheme of industrial development or of assistance to the existing industries had been financed with this big amount. Continuing the speaker said the incidence of taxation had fallen heavily on the poor. This was a great injustice. He urged the Government to reduce salt and postal rates, and to give a substantial share of jute duty to Bengal.

Mr. *Ghuznavi* appealed to the Government to restrict export of gold from India. He asserted that the import duty on salt was imposed not in the interests of the manufacturers in India, but of four merchants in Aden. He complained that not an ounce of salt manufactured in North or Western India was coming into Bengal because of the heavy rail freight, and yet the Bengalees were penalised by this duty.

**25th. MARCH :**—Mr. *Fazlul Huq* criticised the transfer of the capital to Delhi and asked why the Government had copied Shah Jehan, and not the tolerance of Akbar. He said the Government of India had virtually forced the hands of the Government of Bengal to impose taxation on the tax-payers of Bengal.

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* referred to the borrowing policy and maintained that it was being carried on in a manner as to keep India under the political and military domination of England. He criticised the unrestricted export of gold and said India must conserve as much gold as possible. Checking the flow of gold from India would not do the least harm either to the stability of India's currency or credit, and would indeed, to some extent, relieve the fall in the price of commodities.

Sir *James Grigg*, replying to the debate, criticised the Congress and Congress leaders. "Perhaps Pandit Pant will become a communist under the new regime, and he and his friends will be completely free, while the rest of 250 millions will be under complete subjection. So now we know what this battle for freedom means, freedom for the Pandit and a small number of his friends and slavery for everybody." The Finance Member characterised Mr. Satyamurti's method as typical of the early stages of all extremist left wing parties. "They go on repeating chimerical and gargantuan suggestions despite the fact that it has been demonstrated over and over again that they would bring untold misery to the people."

#### INDO-BURMA TRIBUNAL

**26th. MARCH :**—The Government sustained the biggest defeat of the session to-day when Mr. *Mathradas Vassanji*'s adjournment motion to censure the Government for non-representation of India's interests before the Tribunal set up in London in connection with the financial adjustments between India and Burma in the event of the separation of the latter was carried by 78 against 36 votes, the European group remaining neutral. The result was received by the Opposition with cries of "resign, resign." Moving the adjournment motion, Mr. *Mathradas Vassanji* said neither Burma nor India wanted separation which was forced on them by the British. The problem before the Tribunal was complicated and required an expert and detailed representation of non-official Indian and Burman points of view.

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ing and their members were arrested the next morning. Many members of the House had suffered from the misapplication of the law. The speaker was an engineer and knew scientific argument, but lawyers had a genius of prevaricating and misinterpreting law. He asked Sir N. N. Sircar, whose eminence in Bengal equalled to that enjoyed by the late Sir Rashbehari Ghose, to examine the law and see whether it had been misapplied. He also appealed to Sir Henry Craik as an Englishman not to do wrong and destroy the chastity of the English language by misinterpreting the law.

*Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt* characterised the Criminal Law Amendment Act as lawless law, wrong in principle and aiming to deprive the people of the primary rights of citizenship. The speaker narrated at length the alleged police excesses in Comilla and other districts of Bengal, where peaceful processionists were forcibly dispersed by the police for no other offence than merely singing of 'Bande-Mataram'.

*Sir Henry Craik*—I don't believe that.

*Mr. Dutt* asserted that he was speaking from personal knowledge and if the Home Member did not believe he could not help. There were still 205 associations in Bengal under ban and he asked why even after civil disobedience was withdrawn the Government took no action to withdraw the notification. *Mr. Dutt* referred to the ban on the Abhay Ashram, Comilla, and challenged the Government to prove that this organisation was ever associated with revolutionary activities. A Bengal official, *Mr. Mukherjee*, had said that a murder had been committed in broad day-light while a procession was progressing along a street in Comilla. The Abhay Ashram was not declared unlawful even after the commission of that murder. The procession referred to consisted of people of the whole town, and was it fair for the Government to ban an useful organisation because certain isolated individuals had committed a murder in the street? Proceeding, *Mr. Dutt* gave a list of 3,372 persons who had suffered under the Regulation of 1818, Ordinances and other Acts and were detained in Bengal and outside, and his inference was that most of the detentions were in connection with civil disobedience activities.

*Mr. Dutt* emphasised that at present there was no riot, murder or any unlawful activity and for the last year not a single terrorist crime, and it was surprising that the Government still remained unrelenting. According to him, the problem of Bengal was acute unemployment among the educated "bhadralogs" and unwarranted harassment of youngmen by the police.

*Sir N. N. Sircar* next spoke at great length. The question before the House, he said, was whether the Act should be repealed or allowed to continue. For this purpose the Law Member felt that it was necessary to recapitulate the history of the last twelve or fourteen years and he assured the House that all his facts and conclusions were based on records of judicial proceedings before Sessions Judges or High Courts where the accused were defended and had the right of rebutting the evidence. He asserted that terrorist associations in the older days of 1906-07 were small associations, comparatively speaking. Whatever they did was done in secret and was worked underground. Later terrorist activities were, however, conducted by men who misused a large number of volunteers and other people originally employed for different kinds of works. When the non-co-operation movement was launched boys began to leave schools and colleges. They joined physical culture and volunteer classes, which started in many places all over Bengal. Gradually a spirit of defiance of the constituted authority and lawlessness engendered by speeches led to a change in the mentality, which, whatever might be the case in other provinces, resulted in Bengal in deliberate departure from the path of non-violence, which was being insisted on by *Mr. Gandhi* and for which *Mr. Gandhi* sincerely and strenuously fought. Unfortunately, there was in Bengal a background of violence which started long before the non-co-operation movement. From 1921 to 1924 the process was going on and idle boys in hundreds were going in the defiance of law, so that non-violence was losing its hold over the youths in Bengal and the critical stage was reached in 1924.

*Mr. Saxena*—It was due to Governmental violence.

*Sir N. N. Sircar*—I am sure some of these things are rather unpleasant but I am going to tell you what is absolutely true.

The Law Member continued that in 1924 a resolution was passed at the Serajgunj Provincial Conference expressing admiration for the patriotism and sacrifice of the murderer of *Mr. Day*. *Mr. Gandhi* had written strongly against this resolution, stating that its authors by paying a lip service to non-violence were only indulging in self-deception. This glorification of the murderer had dangerous effect and in 1924 the Ordinance Act was passed and a large number of suspects were detained.

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#### Finance Bill Debate (Contd.)

**1st APRIL:**—Discussion of the Finance Bill clause by clause was taken up to-day Mr. M. A. Ayyangar's motion seeking to reduce the salt duty from one rupee and four annas to twelve annas was carried by 63 votes to 55.

Earlier the House, by 61 votes to 54, rejected Pandit Govind Bullabh Pant's amendment to the Salt Tax to the effect that despite the provisions of section 7 of the Salt Act, the Government should not impose any duty on salt manufactured in, or imported into, any part of British India other than Burma or Aden during the year beginning from April 1.

The motion of Seth Gobind Das urging abolition of the salt duty was rejected by 61 votes to 57.

**2nd APRIL:**—Government suffered yet another defeat to-day on the question of export duty on hides, which was proposed to be abolished in the Finance Bill. The House by 61 votes to 60 carried Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar's motion to retain the export duty on hides.

Earlier, Sir James Grigg gave an assurance that the Government adhered to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in respect of salt manufactured for non-commercial domestic Purposes.

The vote of the Assembly on salt duty reducing it to twelve annas from Rs. 1-4 per maund was independent of the 25 per cent. surcharge. This meant that if Government accepted the Assembly's decision the duty leviable on salt would be fifteen annas instead of Rs. 1-9 per maund.

**3rd APRIL:**—Three more non-official victories marked the proceedings of the Assembly when discussing Schedule I of the Finance Bill relating to the Postal Department. Prof. Ranga's amendment to fix one anna for weights not exceeding one tola and one anna three pies for weights between one and two and a half tolas was carried by 80 to 35 votes.

Mr. B. K. Das's amendment that the rate of postcards should be half-anna for single and one anna for reply card was carried by 79 to 44 votes.

Mr. F. E. James's amendment reducing the rates on book-posts and sample packets to six pies for 2 and a half tola weight, nine pies for 5 tola weight, and six pies for every additional weight of 5 tolas, was carried by 84 votes to 39.

A motion for reduction of postage on newspapers was lost.

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Mr. F. E. James's amendment reducing the rates on book-posts and sample packets to six pies for 2 and a half tola weight, nine pies for 5 tola weight, and six pies for every additional weight of 5 tolas, was carried by 84 votes to 39.

A motion for reduction of postage on newspapers was lost.

market for the Indian producer having regard to the fact that India produced in sufficient quantity and, secondly, that there was still large, though steadily diminishing, not exportable surplus wheat in the world available at prices below the Indian price. The only question was at what level that duty would be. The most important adverse factor in the situation was the availability of large surpluses of wheat in the world since 1928-29. During the year 1933-34 the forecast of the world surplus was four hundred million bushels. In other words, the position was approaching or beginning to approach normality and thus to reduce menace to the Indian industry. Therefore, it had become essential to reconsider the duty which they should impose. Originally the duty was fixed having regard to two factors. Firstly, the ex-duty prices at Calcutta of the Australian wheat was Rs. 2-7cwt. and secondly, the freight charged on the Panjab wheat sent to Calcutta was Rs. 1-6 per maund. To-day freight had been reduced to rupee one and pies eight per maund, which amounted to four annas reduction per cwt. and price in Calcutta of the Australian wheat since the beginning of the year had been not lower than Rs. 2-15-8 per maund as against Rs. 2-7 per maund of the Panjab wheat. This factor alone would justify even a large amount of reduction in duty than eight annas. Sir Joseph Bhore quoted further figures to show that after the reduction of eight annas in duty, Indian wheat would reach Calcutta cheaper than the price of the Australian wheat after paying the duty. Lastly, he said that the Government were placing this duty under protective clause, which meant that the Government could by executive action raise on occasions the price of the Indian wheat. Sir Joseph then turned to rice. He quoted the report of the special officer appointed in Madras to show there was scarcity in certain districts of Madras, where millet was chiefly taken by the people. Any rise in the price of rice would be reflected in the price of millet. The Government was therefore circumscribed in the imposition of duty within narrow limits. The chief factor in the competition was broken rice and seventy-five per cent of the total imports of rice and padday into Madras were of broken rice. Continuing, Sir Joseph Bhore dealt with the question of appropriate duty. Rangoon rice was the measuring standard as it was always imported into Madras in large quantities. Statistics showed that the average difference between Rangoon rice and imported broken rice was eight annas per maund and this conclusion was confirmed by a special enquiry conducted at the request of the Council of Agricultural research.

After non-official speeches the motion for consideration of the Bill was passed.

An interesting situation arose on Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed's request for moving amendments, which proposed to restore the wheat duty to two rupees and make it applicable for an indefinite period. He contended that his amendment was to the Bill as it stood and was in order.

Sir Joseph Bhore said that the Act having already lapsed the amendment amounted to a new tax and required the Governor-General's sanction.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir thought that in view of the situation created by the fact that the Bill, though introduced early in March, was not taken into consideration till April, the entire Bill was out of order.

Sir Lancelot Graham said that his amendment of a formal character had been already tabled, and would put the Bill in form.

The President ruled that the Wheat Import Duty Act having already expired, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed's amendment to restore the duty of two rupees was out of order, and his other amendment to make the duty run to an indefinite period was clearly out of order.

Thereupon, Mr. Satyamurthi said that as the Government had taken advantage of a technical position, which had occurred through the fact that the House had not been able to handle the Bill in March, he objected to the Government's amendment of which due notice was not given, and requested the President not to suspend the standing orders.

The President asked, what inconvenience would be caused if the standing orders were suspended.

Mr. Satyamurthi said that the opposition would have liked time to give notice of amendments arising out of the new situation.

Sir N. N. Sircar, leader of the House, said that he had no objection to the matter standing over to the Simla Session (Opposition voice : It is a threat). Sir N. N. Sircar was also willing to let the matter be put off till to-morrow after the Finance Bill was disposed of, so that the opposition members could send in any amendments.

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without taking note of that position, the Government merrily restored its own pledge and thereby betrayed itself into an act of unenlightened selfishness. It did not matter to the Government what happened to the people. He would rather be irresponsible and take the consequences than agree to restore the salary cut at this stage. Continuing, Mr. Desai quoted extensively from Lord Durham's description of the situation in Canada given 101 years ago, which aptly described the situation in India to-day. Lord Durham had condemned the system of Government, where hostility to the people of the country by those who governed was a qualification for honour, so that incompetent men were given positions of glory and the advice tendered to the Governor-General was bad advice. Similarly advice tendered to the Governor-General was bad advice, because five crores could have been easily found. The Government's interpretation of the law was that of an act of Sovereign authority having sanction behind it to enforce law. Mr. Desai interpreted law to mean a course of conduct for men in order to best serve the interests of society. Here was popular will expressed in the House and yet the Government wished to enforce its own views encouraged by people who never stated correct popular feeling and always egged the Government to proceed on its present course of defying public opinion as an evidence of strength and power.

Mr. Desai said, "Sir, this is the culmination of eight or ten weeks of desperate effort on our part to assist the Government. Our attitude is clear. We will certainly prevent any preventable mischief and we will leave those who have the power to exercise it as they choose and as to our suffering. I can only say those in power will have to wait for Nemesis. If we serve no other purpose, we shall at least show that the Legislature does not approve of your acts and that there is no reality of devolution of power either in this or in the coming constitution (applause)."

Continuing, Mr. Desai said that his attitude thus was not only that money could be found, but that in the matter of selection of relief from taxation, they would begin at the lowest and broadest foundation, because salt was consumed not only by every human being, but also used by animals and even vegetable kingdom. Some months ago he met a high and influential member of the conservative Party in England and when in the course of the discussion he convinced his friend that there was no devolution of power and asked why he (conservative) resisted the Indian demand, the reply was "The psychology of the Indian mind is that once we yield to any demand of theirs that is the beginning of the end." Mr. Desai said that was the state of mind of all Imperialistic powers in the past at such a stage, but it was a sign not of strength but of growing weakness (applause). The difference between England and India was that in England the voice of the people was considered the voice of God, while in India the voice of the people was considered the voice of the beetle. He asked the House, therefore, to reject the motion not in any sense of irresponsibility but in the full consciousness of what they were doing and with the readiness to struggle and even to die (applause).

*Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq* said that their self-respect made it impossible for them to obey the Viceroy's mandate and everyone who had voted previously for the amendments was honour-bound not to go behind that vote (applause). The Finance Member had even before the framing of the budget proposals restored the salary cut without consulting the House and had allocated a crore for village reconstruction, which money would be misspent. The Government had been playing ducks and drakes with the public money, as was shown by the reply this morning to his question stating that twenty-six lakhs had been spent on the War memorial gate in New Delhi. The speaker would not spend Rs. 2,600 for that.

*Sir Cowasji Jehangir* expressed his sincere regret that the Government should have acted in the way they had acted. If they believed that they could not spare three crores for the cut in the salt duty, they could have accepted the other amendments. Those officials who had advised the Governor-General to act in the manner in which he had acted, had acted in a spirit of complete responsibility. There was one amendment which put six lakhs in the pocket of the Government, namely, the one retaining the duty on raw skins. He would have voted against that amendment, but for the language used by the Finance Member in his speech on that amendment. What right had the Government members in advising the Governor-General to reject even that amendment. Then there was the amendment regarding postage on letters which was carried with the vote of nearly every elected member. With what respect was that amendment treated? The rejection of all amendments would have cost the Government about one crore and seventy lakhs. Taking it for the sake of argument that the Government could not afford to find 170 lakhs, could not the Government have afforded fifteen, twenty or

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*Sir James Grigg* next turned to the question of responsiveness. The question was whether the Opposition desired to co-operate in promoting the welfare of the Indian people. He asked whether there had not been a consistent plan in raising vexatious (as the House was in a charitable mood he would call it complicated) points of order, some of which ran for an hour at a time. Was not it a consistent policy to move an adjournment motion every day of the week? Some of them raised important points, but many others were matters of pure caprice. Was it not a fact that the disciplinary rules of the Congress Party were drawn up with a view to throw out every motion and every demand for grant which hoisted up the present form of government? (Opposition voices—Quite right). *Sir James Grigg* quoted that part of Mr. Satyamurthi's speech in the Assembly in which Mr. Satyamurthi had stated that their purpose was to destroy the prestige of the Government on which the Government rule depended and that if the Congress succeeded in that, they would win the affection of their people. *Sir James Grigg* asked: "What is the implication of all this? The Congress Party is going to take a course of action which would force the Government to use emergency powers to show the naked rule of autocracy. Another instance occurred this morning when *Mr. Satyamurthi* at question time made the following extraordinary statement. 'Do the Government propose to exterrn all anti-British persons; if so, they will have to exterrn most of us.' " *Sir James Grigg* contended that it could not be denied that the Opposition had been trying to make public business difficult and asked: "Is it unreasonable to hold that so long the policy of the Opposition is obstructive and destructive so long must the Government resort to special powers conferred upon them by law?" (*Pandit Pant*—Then it is all a case of political motive. That's why you have adopted this attitude. The cat is out of the bag).

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The amendment of *Sir James Grigg* for restoring the salt duty was rejected by 64 to 1 votes. Besides the European group some non-official members kept neutral.

*Sir James Grigg* next requested the President under Rule 36 to certify that the Assembly had failed to pass the Bill in the form recommended by the Governor-General.

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2 MR. RAJAU RAHMAN KHAN.

### Members of the Executive Council

3 THE HON'BLE SIR JOHN WOODHEAD.

4 THE HON'BLE MR. R. N. REID.

5 THE HON'BLE SIR BROJENDRA LAL MITTER.

6 THE HON'BLE KHWAJA SIR NAZIMUDDIN

### Ministers

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8 THE HON'BLE SIR BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY.

9 THE HON'BLE KHAN BAHADUR M. AZIZUL HAQUE.

10 MR. G. P. HOGG.

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12 MR. D. GLADDING.

13 MR. G. G. HOOPER

14 MR. H. P. V. TOWNSEND.

15 MR. H. S. E. STEVENS.

16 MR. L. R. FAWCUS.

17 MR. H. R. WILKINSON.

18 MR. T. J. Y. ROXBURGH.

19 MR. S. BASU.

20 MR. R. N. GILCHRIST.

21 MR. R. L. WALKER.

22 MR. A. K. CHANDA.

23 MR. S. C. MITTER.

### Non-officials (Nominated)

24 REV. B. A. NAG.

25 BABU GURUPROSAD DAS.

26 MR. K. C. RAY CHOWDHURY.

27 MAULVI LATAFAT HUSSAIN.

28 MR. D. J. COHEN.

29 KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI HAFIZAR RAHMAN CHAUDHURI.

30 MR. P. N. GUHA.

31 MR. MUKUNDA BIHARY MULLICK.

32 BABU JATINDRA NATH BASU.

33 MR. S. M. BOSE, BAR-AT-LAW.

34 SETH HANUMAN PROSAD PODDAR.

35 RAI DR. HARIDHAN DUTT BAHADUR.

36 SIR HARI SANKAR PAUL.

37 DR. SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR.

38 MUNINDRA DEB RAI MAHASAI.

39 DR. AMULYA RATAN GHOSE.

40 BABU PRAFULLA KUMAR GUHA.

41 RAI JOGESH CHANDRA SEN BAHADUR.

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43 MR. SAILESWAR SINGH ROY.

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45 MR. J. N. GUPTA.

46 RAI SATYA KINKAR SAHANA BAHADUR

47 BABU HOSENI ROUT.

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49 RAI SAHIB SARAT CHANDRA MUKHO-  
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50 RAI SATISH CHANDRA MUKHERJI  
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51 BABU HARIBANSA ROY

52 BABU SARAT CHANDRA MITTRA.

53 MR. P. BANERJI.

54 RAI DEBENDRA NATH BALLABH  
BAHADUR.

55 MR. NARENDRA KUMAR BASU.

56 SRIJUT TAJ BAHADUR SINGH.

57 BABU AMULYADHAN RAY.

58 BABU JITENDRA NATH ROY.

59 BABU SUK LAL NAG.

60 RAI KESHAB CHANDRA BANERJI  
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61 DR. NARESH CHANDRA SEN GUPTA.

62 BABU SATISH CHANDRA RAI CHOW-  
DHURI.

63 RAI AKSHOY KUMAR SEN BAHADUR.

64 RAI SARAT CHANDRA BAL BAHADUR

65 MR. B. C. CHATTERJEE,

66 BABU LALIT KUMAR BAL.

67 RAI KAMINI KUMAR DAS BAHADUR.

68 BABU KHETTER MOHAN RAY.

69 BABU HEM CHANDRA ROY CHAUDHURI.

70 BABU KISHORI MOHAN CHAUDHURI.

71 BABU PREM HARI BARMA.

72 RAI SAHIB PANCHANAN BARMA.

73 BABU NAGENDRA NARAYAN RAY.

74 DR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA CHAUDHURI.

75 MR. SHANTI SHEKHARESWAR RAY.

76 MR. PROSANNA DEB RAIKAT.

77 MR. A. RAHEEM.

78 MR. H. S. SUHRAWARDY.

79 MAULVI SHAIK RAHIM BAKSH.

80 MAULVI MUHAMMAD SOLAIMAN.

81 MAULVI MUHAMMAD SAADATULLAH.

82 NAWABZADA K. M. AFZAL.

83 MAULVI ABDUL KASEM.

84 MAULVI ABDUL KARIM.

85 KHAN BAHADUR A. F. M. ABDUR-  
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4 THE HON'BLE MR. R. N. REID.

5 THE HON'BLE SIR BROJENDRA LAL MITTER.

6 THE HON'BLE KHWAJA SIR NAZIMUDDIN

### Ministers

7 THE HON'BLE NAWAB K. G. M. FAROQUI.

8 THE HON'BLE SIR BIJOY PRASAD SINGH ROY.

9 THE HON'BLE KHAN BAHADUR M. AZIZUL HAQUE.

10 MR. G. P. HOGG.

### Official Members (Nominated)

11 MR. S. K. HALDAR.

12 MR. D. GLADDING.

13 MR. G. G. HOOPER

14 MR. H. P. V. TOWNSEND.

15 MR. H. S. E. STEVENS.

16 MR. L. R. FAWCUS.

17 MR. H. R. WILKINSON.

18 MR. T. J. Y. ROXBURGH.

19 MR. S. BASU.

20 MR. R. N. GILCHRIST.

21 MR. R. L. WALKER.

22 MR. A. K. CHANDA.

23 MR. S. C. MITTER.

### Non-officials (Nominated)

24 REV. B. A. NAG.

25 BABU GURUPROSAD DAS.

26 MR. K. C. RAY CHOWDHURY.

27 MAULVI LATAFAT HUSSAIN.

28 MR. D. J. COHEN.

29 KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI HAFIZAR RAHMAN CHAUDHURI.

30 MR. P. N. GUHA.

31 MR. MUKUNDA BIHARY MULLICK.

32 BABU JATINDRA NATH BASU.

33 MR. S. M. BOSE, BAR-AT-LAW.

34 SETH HANUMAN PROSAD PODDAR.

35 RAI DR. HARIDHAN DUTT BAHADUR.

36 SIR HARI SANKAR PAUL.

37 DR. SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR.

38 MUNINDRA DEB RAI MAHASAI.

39 DR. AMULYA RATAN GHOSE.

40 BABU PRAFULLA KUMAR GUHA.

41 RAI JOGESH CHANDRA SEN BAHADUR.

42 RAI SATYENDRA KUMAR DAS BAHADUR

43 MR. SAILESWAR SINGH ROY.

44 BABU JITENDRALAL BANERJEE.

45 MR. J. N. GUPTA.

46 RAI SATYA KINKAR SAHANA BAHADUR

47 BABU HOSENI ROUT.

48. R. MAITI, BAR-AT-LAW

49 RAI SAHIB SARAT CHANDRA MUKHO-PADHAYA.

50 RAI SATISH CHANDRA MUKHERJI BAHADUR.

51 BABU HARIBANSA ROY

52 BABU SARAT CHANDRA MITTRA.

53 MR. P. BANERJI.

54 RAI DEBENDRA NATH BALLABH BAHADUR.

55 MR. NARENDRA KUMAR BASU.

56 SRIJUT TAJ BAHADUR SINGH.

57 BABU AMULYADHAN RAY.

58 BABU JITENDRA NATH ROY.

59 BABU SUK LAL NAG.

60 RAI KESHAB CHANDRA BANERJI BAHADUR.

61 DR. NARESH CHANDRA SEN GUPTA.

62 BABU SATISH CHANDRA RAI CHOWDHURI.

63 RAI AKSHOY KUMAR SEN BAHADUR.

64 RAI SARAT CHANDRA BAL BAHADUR

65 MR. B. C. CHATTERJEE,

66 BABU LALIT KUMAR BAL.

67 RAI KAMINI KUMAR DAS BAHADUR.

68 BABU KHETTER MOHAN RAY.

69 BABU HEM CHANDRA ROY CHAUDHURI.

70 BABU KISHORI MOHAN CHAUDHURI.

71 BABU PREM HARI BARMA.

72 RAI SAHIB PANCHANAN BARMA.

73 BABU NAGENDRA NARAYAN RAY.

74 DR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA CHAUDHURI.

75 MR. SHANTI SHEKHARESWAR RAY.

76 MR. PROSANNA DEB RAIKAT.

77 MR. A. RAHEEM.

78 MR. H. S. SUHRAWARDY.

79 MAULVI SHAIK RAHIM BAKSH.

80 MAULVI MUHAMMAD SOLAIMAN.

81 MAULVI MUHAMMAD SAADATULLAH.

82 NAWABZADA K. M. AFZAL.

83 MAULVI ABDUL KASEM.

84 MAULVI ABDUL KARIM.

85 KHAN BAHADUR A. F. M. ABDUR-RAHMAN.

86 MAULVI ABDUS SAMAD.

87 MAULVI SYED MAJID BAKSH.

88 MAULVI SYED NAUSHER ALI.

## ALBERT VICTOR LEPER HOSPITAL BILL

The Albert Victor Leper Hospital Bill was introduced by Hon'ble Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, Minister-in-charge of Local Self-Government, and the same was referred to a Select Committee on the motion of the Hon'ble Minister.

## BENGAL VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT AMEND. BILL

The Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1935, as reported by the Select Committee was next discussed clause by clause.

The Bill owes its origin to a conference of Presidents of Union Boards held at the Town Hall in Calcutta in December 1931. It aims at removing practical difficulties experienced in the working of the Act.

The Bill provides for wider electorate to the Union Board by lowering the minimum franchise qualifications and the inclusion of minimum education qualifications.

It also provides for wider power to the Board to effect sanitary measures in villages and excludes the jurisdiction of civil courts in the matter of election disputes. Henceforth, they will be decided by the District Magistrate, an appeal against which can be made to the Divisional Commissioner. The debate on this bill was continued till the 20th. February when it was passed by the Council.

## Financial Statement for 1935-36

**22nd. FEBRUARY:**—A distinct improvement in the financial outlook was indicated in the speech delivered to-day by the Hon'ble Sir John Woodhead, Finance Member, introducing the budget for 1935-36.

In the Budget estimates for 1934-35, the receipts on the revenue account were Rs. 9,19 and a half lakhs. According to the revised estimates, the figure was Rs. 10,51 and a half lakhs. The increase was mainly accounted for by the grant of half the Jute Duty calculated on a 8 months' basis, while Rs. 20 and a half lakhs represented a slight improvement in the provincial heads of revenue. The net result is that Bengal now expects to close with a deficit of Rs. 46 lakhs, instead of Rs. 1,94 lakhs as originally estimated.

Referring to the Budget estimates for 1935-36, Sir John Woodhead said that the conditions were too uncertain to warrant the Government taking an optimistic view of the revenue prospects. Apart from the increase of Rs. 46 and a three-fourth lakhs in Bengal's share of the Jute Export Duty, the Budget figures for the receipts on the revenue accounts followed closely the revised estimates. The receipts on capital account also called for no comment.

Exclusive of the advance to be taken over to cover the anticipated deficit, the estimate of the total receipts on revenue and capital stood at Rs. 11,60 lakhs as against Rs. 11,12 and one-fourth lakhs during the present year.

As regards expenditure, estimates provided for an expenditure on revenue account of Rs. 11 crores 71 and a half lakhs. An increase of Rs. 54 lakhs over the revised estimate was then explained. The restoration of the 5 per cent cut in the pay, the restoration of provision for the reduction of debt, the cost of preparing electoral rolls, the increase in the additional expenditure thrown on the province by the terrorist movement, the increase in interest and pensionary charges and additional expenditure on roads from the Central Road Development Fund and from the proceeds of the taxes on motor vehicles accounted for Rs. 50 and a half lakhs, out of the total increase of Rs. 54 lakhs. The balance was spread over a large number of budget heads.

The Finance Member who felt proud of the story disclosing what he characterised as a distinct improvement in the financial outlook added : "This improvement is due, however, not to any substantial recovery in the yield from the provincial sources of revenue, but to the decision taken last March by the Central Government and the Central Legislature to make to the jute producing provinces, which, of course, means mainly Bengal, a grant equal to half the proceeds of the Jute Export Duty. The grant was subject to an important condition which I discussed at length when introducing the taxation measures which now have been referred to Select Committees. For the purposes of our estimates, we have assumed that the condition will be held to have been satisfied. In order to enable themselves to make this grant, the Central Legislature imposed an excise duty on matches, but as this excise was not likely during the current year to produce more than 8 months' full revenue, we were told that we might expect the grant for the current year to amount to Rs. 111 1-3 lakhs. This is the figure that we have taken in our revised estimates. But we hope for more than this ; for the Hon'ble the Finance Member to the Government of India clearly stated that the grant would be raised to a twelve months' level if the out-turn of the Central

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#### COURT FEES (BENGAL AMEND.) BILL

**25th. FEBRUARY:**—There was a short meeting of the Council to-day when the Court-Fees (Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1935, was passed into law. The primary object of the Bill is to provide a suitable machinery for preventing the evasion of the existing law relating to court-fees. It was stated that although the Court-Fees Act, 1870 was amended for revenue purposes in Bengal by the Bengal Court-Fees (Amendment) Act, 1922, recent inquiries had shown that there was frequent evasion of the existing provisions of the law relating to court-fees and in consequence loss of large sums of revenue due to the Government. The Bill further provides for the removal of the more serious anomalies and defects in the procedure under the existing Act to which attention has been drawn in numerous decisions of the various High Courts and the report of the Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee.

Moving for the consideration of the Bill, as it emerged from the Select Committee, Sir *Brijendra Lal Mitter* explained that the changes that had been effected by the Select Committee were towards mitigating the rigours of the court-fees law. The Bill as it now stood was a great improvement on the existing state of things under which court-fees charges were anomalous and which permitted of leakage of revenue through very many sources. But the machinery provided in the Bill as it had emerged from the Select Committee was calculated to stop this. It was calculated to charge an equitable court-fee in all cases without variation which the existing law contained.

Over 50 amendments to the 20 clauses of the Bill were tabled for discussion. Most of them were not moved and the few that were moved, excepting in one important instance, were rejected with little or no discussion. This referred to the clause relating to the basis of court-fees assessment.

The Bill as it emerged from the Select Committee provided that instead of the Court, in the first instance, proceeding on the basis of the market value, as in the Bill as introduced, it should compute the court-fee chargeable at 15 times the nett profits. To this, Mr. *Narendra Kumar Basu* moved an amendment, suggesting that in suits for the possession of land, buildings or gardens, the court-fee should be computed according to the market value of the property or 15 minutes the nett profits accruing therefrom, whichever was lower. This was accepted by the Hon. Member in charge of the Bill which was eventually passed with this modification.

#### GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**26th. FEBRUARY:**—The close-fisted policy followed by the Bengal Government in the matter of education and other nation-building works and the spend-thrift policy followed by them in the matter of eradicating the menace of terrorism came in for a certain amount of criticism in the Council when the House proceeded to discuss the Budget. Initiating the discussion, *Maulavi Tamizuddin Khan* said that the Finance Member had taken an inconsistent and irreconcilable stand point in many of his major performances. The Finance Member claimed to be a friend of the poor and was naturally solicitous for their welfare, so while out in his quest for new sources of revenue, he made a solemn declaration that he was anxious to avoid any further burden on really poor men. He recognised that the burden on the Bengal tax-payers was already too heavy but at the same time he ignored the additional toll of misery that some of his new measures must bring to the hard lot of the poor. The Finance Member's tobacco tax would be a smart slap on the cheek of those poor men whom he tried to save from the brunt of his new measures.

Mr. *Shanti Shekhareswar Roy* failed to see anything in the Budget to congratulate the Finance Member. The Budget had proved to the country that the position of the Government of Bengal was financially very insecure. The Finance Member had tried to throw the blame on terrorists and terrorism in this province for this state of things. That was a statement which the speaker thought must be challenged. The speaker was of opinion that the expenditure incurred by the Bengal Government in combating the menace of terrorism was due largely to their own inefficiency and mishandling of the situation. If the Government of Bengal had taken their advice and had tried to shape their policy on popular lines, there would have been no necessity for this huge expenditure. Mr. Roy thought that the Government of Bengal should adopt a bold

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to explain why there was such a heavy police budget, when it was admitted that terrorism was on the wane. Mr. Bose asked the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Judicial Department to explain the necessity for keeping two additional Judges in the High Court, a luxury estimated to cost Rs. 58,000 annually. Last year during the Budget discussions, the need for retrenchment in the High Court expenditure was dwelt upon but nothing tangible resulted. What was the necessity for having two extra Judges?

*Moulvi Abdus Samad* would like to make one suggestion to the Finance Member by which he could provide money for the nation-building departments. He suggested that a loan of 26 crores of rupees at an interest of 3 per cent. should be raised on the security of eighty lakhs of rupees which was half of the jute export duty they expected to get from the Central Government.

*Mr. Hassan Ali* saw no reason why the cost of administration should go up and the poor people should continue to groan under the burden of their miseries. They claimed the duty as of right and not as a favour.

Replying to Mr. S. M. Bose's criticisms about the appointment of two additional judges in the High Court, Sir *B. L. Mitter* felt that so far as the question of quality of work was concerned, it would be impertinent on his part to express any opinion. So far as the question of quantity of work was concerned, he cited figures to show that an appalling number of cases were pending in the High Court and since it was well-known that justice delayed was justice denied, it was to the interest of every body that these cases should be expeditiously disposed of.

In his reply to the criticisms made by non-official members, Sir *John Woodhead*, Finance Member, explained as to why the Government of Bengal had decided to restore the five per cent. cut in the salary of their officers. The position, he said, was this : The Government of India decided—and the announcement was made in February—that the cut in the pay would be restored as regards All-India and the Central Services. The Bengal Government considered carefully the position created by the announcement of the India Government and they came to the conclusion that in view of the fact that cut had been restored in regard to officers of the All-India and the Central Services, whether serving under the Government of India or in the Provinces, the Local Government could not justify the maintaining of the cut in regard to officers under their own rule-making powers. Speaking on the question of retrenchment, the Finance Member claimed that they had effected very considerable retrenchments. Of that, he said, there was not the slightest doubt. He would remind those who were urging further retrenchment of a substantial character that their expenditure per head of population in Bengal was still one of the lowest in India and it was still the lowest in spite of the expenditure of sixty lakhs on suppression of terrorism and the other twenty lakhs as interest on deficit loans. He told the House that the expenditure per head of population in Bengal was Rs. 2.4 while it was Rs. 3.9 in Madras, Rs. 2.5 in U. P. Rs. 7.9 in Bombay and Rs. 4.3 in the Punjab. He hoped members would realise that their expenditure was the lowest in comparision with all those provinces and there was therefore the least scope for retrenchment. A lot had been said, the Finance Member proceeded, about unemployment. It was said by one member that it was due to Mr. Gandhi launching his Village Industries Association that Government was galvanised into activity. That was entirely wrong, said the Finance Member. Members of the Council would remember that the Weaving School at Serampore was established many many years ago. Government had demonstration parties regarding cottage industries for a considerable number of years. They had a Technical School in Calcutta and the Training School at Kanchrapara for imparting technical education. They had established technical schools in various parts of the province.

#### NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

**28th. FEBRUARY :**—No fewer than 16 non-official Bills were disposed of by the Council to-day. They were : The Estates Partition (Amendment) Bill (two in number); the Bengal Fisheries (Amendment) Bill; the Bengal Tenancy Bill (four in number dealing with Sections 148, 48C, 109, 158A, 65 and 163); the Bengal Public Gambling (Amendment) Bill; the Bengal Primary Education (Amendment) Bill; the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill (two in number); the Bengal Municipal (Amendment) Bill (two in number); the Bengal Suppression of Private Lotteries Bill, 1935 and the Bengal Race Course Betting Bill 1935 and the Bengal Wakf Act (Amendment) Bill.

*Mr. Kishori Mohan Chowdhury* was responsible for the introduction of three of the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bills and the passing of one of the Estates Partition (Amendment) Bill. The main object of the latter Bill of Mr. Chowdhury was to allow rent-free lands to be partitioned without the consent of all the proprietors.

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sugar-cane cultivation. But if Government did not fix the minimum price of sugar-cane their propaganda would be of no avail. In Bihar they had a fixed price for sugar-cane. Replying on behalf of the Government, *Nawab K. G. M. Faroqui* said that Government had every sympathy with the object underlying the resolution. Government were greatly interested in securing the cultivator a fair share of the value of his produce. The resolution was withdrawn.

#### DEPRESSED CLASSES EDUCATION

*Mr. Mukunda Behari Mullick* moved a resolution recommending to Government that a special officer be forthwith appointed to make a special survey of the condition, progress and other matters connected with the education of the depressed classes of the province with a view to suggesting ways and means for ameliorating their general condition and that immediate provision be made for funds necessary for the purpose.

Replies *Khan Bahadur Azizul Haq*, Minister of Education, pointed out that it had been the policy of the Government to encourage the spread of education among sections of people including the scheduled classes who were less advanced than others in the matter of education. The resolution was withdrawn.

#### ALBERT VICTOR LEPER HOSPITAL BILL

**7th. MARCH:**—Two Government Bills came up for discussion in the Council to-day. The Albert Victor Leper Hospital Bill was passed. The Bill which was sponsored by Sir *Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy*, provided that the hospital, which is at present a State hospital conducted departmentally by the Government of Bengal and is under the supervision of a Board of management, should now be controlled by a Board of Trustees. The hospital fund shall become vested in the Board, be under its control and shall be held in trust for the purposes of the hospital. The Local Government shall, for the purposes of the hospital, contribute annually to the Board a sum of Rs. 60,000 and the Corporation of Calcutta a sum of Rs. 7,000 annually.

#### BENGAL DEVELOPMENT BILL

Sir *Khwaja Nazimuddin*, Irrigation Member, then introduced the Bengal Development Bill, a measure intended to authorise the Government to undertake the task of bringing back to prosperity the health decadent areas in Bengal by restoring the flow of dead rivers by means of construction work and by controlling irrigation and arranging for drainage throughout the province.

Requesting the House to send the Bill to the Select Committee, Sir *Khwaja Nazimuddin* said that if the House rejected, delayed or whittled down the provisions of the Bill making impracticable the work contemplated, it would mean the continuance of the present state of affairs. On the other hand, if it was enacted into law, "we can visualise the picture of flowing rivers, thickly populated districts, land covered with luxurious crops, healthy, sturdy and well-to-do peasantry and a surplus provincial budget". The House was discussing the amendment urging circulation of the Bill, when the Council adjourned.

**8th. MARCH:**—The Bengal Development Bill was referred to a select committee after the motion for its circulation had been defeated by 59 votes to 21. The Select Committee which consists of 22 members is to submit its report by the end of June next.

The Hon'ble *Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin* was faced with an awkward situation when he readily acquiesced in 9 more names being added to the first of the select committee members on an amendment moved by Mr. *Kshetra Mohan Ray*, which, however, evoked strong opposition from all sections of the House on the ground of extra expenditure especially in view of the fact that the select committee would hold its sittings at Darjeeling and this amendment, which was accepted by Government, was, however, rejected by the House without a division. The House then adjourned till the 13th.

#### VOTING ON BUDGET GRANTS

**13th. MARCH:**—The Council reassembled to-day to take the Budget demands into consideration.

Sir *B. L. Mitter* moved that a sum of Rs. 35,12,000 be granted for expenditure under the head "Land Revenue". *Moulvi Tamizuddin Khan* moved that the demand of Rs. 1,48,000 under the head "Charges of Administration—Land Acquisition Establishment," be reduced by Rs. 100 (amendment of the Land Act, so as to make provision for erecting prayer-house on the holdings of tenants).

sugar-cane cultivation. But if Government did not fix the minimum price of sugar-cane their propaganda would be of no avail. In Bihar they had a fixed price for sugar-cane. Replying on behalf of the Government, *Nawab K. G. M. Faroqui* said that Government had every sympathy with the object underlying the resolution. Government were greatly interested in securing the cultivator a fair share of the value of his produce. The resolution was withdrawn.

#### DEPRESSED CLASSES EDUCATION

*Mr. Mukunda Behari Mullick* moved a resolution recommending to Government that a special officer be forthwith appointed to make a special survey of the condition, progress and other matters connected with the education of the depressed classes of the province with a view to suggesting ways and means for ameliorating their general condition and that immediate provision be made for funds necessary for the purpose.

Replies *Khan Bahadur Azizul Haq*, Minister of Education, pointed out that it had been the policy of the Government to encourage the spread of education among sections of people including the scheduled classes who were less advanced than others in the matter of education. The resolution was withdrawn.

#### ALBERT VICTOR LEPER HOSPITAL BILL

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The Mont-Ford Act, said Mr. Roy, had two objects, namely, (1) increasing the association of Indians in the administration of the country and (2) the progressive realisation of responsible Government. Mr. Roy charged the Government with failure to carry out either of the two objects in letter or in spirit. The Government had systematically ignored the Legislative Council.

Dr. N. C. Sen-Gupta, supporting the motion for a token cut, averred that the story of the last decade was the story of continuous, progressive and increasing disregard of the fundamental principle of the constitution by the Government in every aspect of their administration. The way in which all the available funds were appropriated by the Reserve side, leaving the nation-building departments to suffer, showed that the Executive Council dominated the Ministry.

Mr. P. N. Guha opined that the present discussion was bound to be merely academic in view of the impending constitution.

*Maulvi Abul Kasem* supported Dr. Sen Gupta's contention, that the Executive Council was responsible for the undue prolongation of the Council's normal term of life. "This Council", stated Mr. Abul Kasem, "has become superannuated and has ceased to reflect public opinion."

Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, Minister for Local Self-Government, repudiated the charge of the Executive Council dominating the Ministry and declared that the two sides of the Government co-operated with each other.

Mr. R. N. Reid, replying, referred to the friendly relations between the Reserved and the Transferred halves of the Government. Referring to the charges of non-Indianisation, he informed the House that Rai Bahadur T. Bannerjea had acted as Deputy Inspector-General of Police. As regards the extension of the Council's term of life, Mr. Reid declared that circumstances beyond their control had necessitated extension. The motion was negatived without a division and the House adjourned.

**21st MARCH:**—The Council to-day discussed two token-cut motions on demand under General Administration raising debates on the size of the Executive Council and restoration of salary-cut. Mr. N. K. Basu, Leader of the Opposition, emphasised that there was not enough work for four Executive Councillors and the Government could easily reduce their number.

Mr. R. N. Reid, Home Member, replying, said that times had changed and the work had increased and the analogy of Bombay did not apply to Bengal, whose population numbered more than 50 millions. Both motions were, however, lost.

#### DEMAND UNDER ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Calcutta High Court then came in for a good deal of criticism when the House took up consideration of the budget demand for grant of Rs. 75,09,000 under the head "Administration of Justice".

*Rai Bahadar Satya Kinkar Sahana* moved two token cuts in the demand for grant for "Administration of Justice", one drawing attention to the congestion of work in the Original Side of the High Court and urging the desirability of acting up to the recommendations of the High Court Retrenchment Committee and the other referring to congestion of work in the Appellate Side and emphasising the desirability of accepting the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee. The mover said that there was great congestion of work in the High Court. He thought that the number of holidays in the High Court should be curtailed and there should be Saturday sittings. He wanted to know which of the recommendations of the High Court Retrenchment Committee has been given effect to and urged that such of its recommendations as were possible to be given effect to should be acted up to without impairing efficiency. Supporting, Mr. S. M. Bose wanted to know how far the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee had been given effect to. They found that High Court expenditure was going up. He opined that junior lawyers with a good practice at the Bar should be appointed to the Bench.

Speaking with the experience of one who had spent the best part of his life in the Calcutta High Court, Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu gave his support to the motions. The love he bore to the Calcutta High Court, Mr. Basu began, could not find adequate expression in words and expressed his deep regret that at the fag-end of his career it should have fallen to his lot to criticise the Calcutta High Court. He did not favour the idea of Saturday sittings which he thought would affect the quality of work, practically of the Bar and theoretically of the Bench.

Proceeding Mr. Basu said that time was when the Calcutta High Court was looked upon by all sections of the people of this province as the only shield between man

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of jail settled down as peaceful citizens of the State. The policy of the Government so far as jail administration was concerned should have been changed by now. He urged that the jail code should be revised and regretted that no attempt had been made in that direction. His submission was that directions should be given to the jail authorities that they must be very kind and fair in their treatment towards the prisoners so that when they came out of jail, they came out with a quite different outlook on life. Referring to the hunger-strike in the Dacca jail, Mr. Banerjee remarked that the Home Member perhaps did not know the actual state of things there but had to rely on the reports he got from his subordinate men on the spot. The speaker suggested that the Home Member should have paid a visit to Dacca—it was a matter of only two hours—and should have seen for himself what was happening there. Hunger-strike was no joke, specially when they knew that in certain cases the result might be even death.

Opposing the motion, Mr. J. B. Ross told the House that he had been a non-official visitor to the Alipore Central Jail for some years past. During his visits to the jail he had enquired of the prisoners, both Indian and European, if they had any complaint particularly with regard to diet and was told they had none. Foodstuffs supplied to them were of an excellent quality.

Proceeding the speaker said that jail discipline was enforced on terrorist prisoners much more strictly than in other cases. Relaxation of discipline on this class of people might be fraught with very dangerous results as government know only too well from past experience. In his opinion terrorist prisoners could not be called political prisoners. They were no better than out and out criminals whose creed was murder and who did not deserve any better treatment than to be hounded out of society and who should consider themselves fortunate if they had escaped the extreme penalty of law. To the speaker it appeared that hunger-strike was nothing better than to take the law into their own hands by the prisoners. The cut motion was lost without division.

The Council next passed the Hon. Sir B. L. Mitter's demand for Rs. 74,09,000 for "Administration of Justice." Sir Brojendra dealt at some length with the criticisms of the High Court made at Thursday's session of the Council, demonstrating, for the most part, the incompetency of the local Government to deal with such questions as were raised. Sir Brojendra had every sympathy with the intentions of the critics, and undertook to see that a report of the debate was sent to the proper authorities but he had to point out the Bengal Government's powerlessness to deal with matters that were in the hands of the Government of India. The House was, however, competent to discuss and ventilate grievances relating to the administrative machinery of the High Court. It has been suggested, said Sir Brojendra, that the Judges' working hours were too few, that there should be fewer holidays and Saturday sittings. Saturdays and Sundays, he added, were the busiest days of the whole week for Calcutta lawyers. He himself remembered how he had dreaded them. It was absolutely essential that Saturdays should be free for consideration or preparation of judgments. Most Judges simply buried themselves on Saturdays in reports and other legal literature which would ultimately have a very important and direct relation to the laws of the province. It was an old question, very much alive 30 years ago, and he deprecated the views of those who imagined that the legal profession, especially as represented by the Judges, shied at Saturday High Court sittings because it would involve the denial of such *divertissements* as dancing, racing, golf and the cinema. Regarding certain allegations made in connexion with the congestion of High Court work, Sir Brojendra emphatically rebutted "vague and general" charges which were not only calculated to cast a slur upon the ability of the Judges but also to undermine the integrity of the judiciary. They were also entirely unsupported by evidence. The House at this stage adjourned.

**23rd. MARCH:**—The question of discontinuing the practice of sending Detenus out of Bengal was raised in the Council to-day when the House resumed discussion on the Budget demand for grant under the head "Jail and Convict" Settlement. In moving for the rejection of the entire demand for Rs. 5,53,000 on account of prisoners detained outside Bengal, Mr. N. K. Basu, Leader of the Opposition, said that by transferring these prisoners, thousands of miles away from Bengal, the Government were really doing something which, though within the strict letter of the law, was not in accordance with the spirit of law, for it virtually amounted to a sentence of transportation for these unfortunate prisoners.

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this year in this Council because Government of Bengal had not brought forward any legislative measure on this account. So far as the press was concerned, in view of the Act that they passed last year, there was naturally less information about them in the press. But though the publicity of the grievances had ceased, the speaker thought that they remained as before. Hundreds of their countrymen were continuing in detention without trial. Many of them had been in these detention camps at least for five years, giving no opportunity to vindicate their innocence before any court of law and without any hope of release in the near future. Proceeding, the speaker said that people had hoped that in connection with the Silver Jubilee celebrations, there would be a release—a general amnesty, if the Government choose to call it so—of these detenus and other political prisoners. The Home Member's reply to-day had dashed that hope to the ground. The Home Member had definitely stated that so far as the Hijli Detention Camp was concerned, it was the intention of Government not to release any of the persons detained there at present. The speaker would ask the Government to take note of the public meeting on the point. For the last few days when it was announced in a press message that these persons would be released in connection with the Silver Jubilee celebrations, there was a general appreciation of the possible action on the part of the Government. If Government had any respect for public feeling, the speaker thought that they should reconsider their decision and see if most of them, if not all, could be released on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebrations. Concluding, Mr. Roy asked the Government to take note of the demand that was made on the All-India Detenu Day for their release or for placing them before a properly constituted court of law for the trial.

Speaking next, Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu wanted to bring to the notice of the House the figures in the budget from an accountant's point of view. They would find that in this grant "Miscellaneous", the most important head was "Miscellaneous and unforeseen charges" which amounted in 1933-34 to Rs. 12 lakhs and 36 thousand. In the last year's budget, it exceeded 16 lakhs 38 thousand and the revised actual expenditure was 14 lakhs 38 thousand. In the budget for the next year's budget, it was 16 lakhs 85 thousand, that is to say, the increase was by two lakhs 32 thousand. It means that the Government of Bengal under this head was making an increased provision of about two lakhs for increased provision for detenus.

The speaker would invite the attention of the House to repeated statements on behalf of the Government that the situation had improved. If the situation had improved, what was the necessity, he failed to understand, for this increased provision of about two lakhs for Detenus. If Government said that the situation had improved and if they did not anticipate any recrudescence to a large extent of the measures which the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act was designed to deal with, then he would ask the Treasury Bench to explain the reason for an increased provision for Detenus.

Replying, the Hon'ble Mr. R. N. Reid, Home Member, said that he was afraid he would have to repeat the arguments that he advanced in connection with the police budget. The position, as he had said before, was no doubt better but it was not because that there was abandonment of terrorist aims and activities but because terrorist organisation had been disorganised as a result of Government action. But the fact remained that terrorists were still ready to take advantage of any opportunity to attack Government. They had proof of that not many months ago, when four under-trial prisoners escaped from the Alipore Central Jail. The point that the Home Member wanted to make with reference to the escape of these prisoners from prison was with regard to the effect of their escape on the terrorist situation; it was immediately followed by renewed activity in certain terrorist articles. And that was the reason why Government took the view that the terrorist organisation, though weakened, still existed and therefore they had to provide for the future against the possibility of more action under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. They had to take precautions and that was the justification for the demand.

The entire demand of Rs. 19,70,000 under the head "Miscellaneous" was passed without a division. The House also passed the entire demands of Rs. 1,00,000 for "Famine Relief", Rs. 62,41,000 for "Commuted value of pensions not charged to revenue" and "Superanuation allowances and pensions", Rs. 19,54,000 for "Stationery and Printing Depreciation Fund—Government Presses", Rs. 6,68,000 for "Expenditure in England", Rs. 9,51,000 for "Loans and Advances", Rs. 24,000 for additional help to the Calcutta Hospital Nurses' Institution and Rs. 56,000 for "Superanuation allowances and pensions".

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position of a man who evaded the license fee to that of a criminal offender. The rural people would suffer greatly at the hands of the excise officers.

Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen-Gupta said that there were some harrassing provisions in the Bill which were absolutely unnecessary for a small measure like the Tobacco Licensing Bill. These provisions might have been avoided if the Government accepted his suggestions. But Government did not do so. On the other hand Government met the criticisms of the opposition with pettyfogging spirit.

Mr. N. K. Basu said that from the very inception of the bill they had been told by the Hon'ble Finance Member that the reasons for introduction of these five unpopular measures at a time which was inopportune, was for the purpose of satisfying the members of the Legislative Assembly to whom the Finance Member of the Government had given some sort of pledge to the effect that Bengal could get half the share of the jute export duty if she tried in every possible way to put her house in order. Apart from the question of putting the house in order only by taxation and by no other means, he would ask the Finance Member to consider what had happened with the Finance Bill in the Legislative Assembly now. The Finance Bill in the Legislative Assembly, observed Mr. Basu, had almost run its course. It would shortly be sent to the Council of State. But did they ever hear the Finance Member of the Government of India to say anything like this that Government of India would not grant half of the jute export duty unless the Bengal Legislative Council accepted these taxation measures?

Replying to the debate Hon'ble Sir John Woodhead said that tobacco was a luxury article and such articles had been taxed in almost every civilised country of the world. It had been argued that the bill would affect everybody in this province; but he would deny that. Only a very small portion of the people would be affected by the operation of the bill and that a small license fee of Rs. 3 or 4 per annum would not result in a rise of the price of tobacco. It was very easy, said the Finance Member to come to this House and say that this measure would affect everybody. How many vendors were there in the province? If there were one lac vendors that means only 2 per cent of the population was going to be taxed. He maintained the vast masses of the population was going to be taxed. He maintained the vast masses of the population in Bengal would not know when this was imposed. (Question, Question).

Concluding the Hon'ble Finance Member assured the House that they would make every effort to avoid undue harrassment of the people in working the Act. The House at this stage adjourned.

#### INDIAN STAMP (BENGAL AMEND.) BILL

**9th. APRIL:**—The Council placed two more taxation measures on the Statute Book to-day when it gave its assent to the Indian Stamp (Bengal Amendment) Bill and the Bengal Amusements Tax (Amendment) Bill. With the smooth passage through the Council of the latter Bill, the last of the glorious band of five taxation measures forged by the Government to keep up appearances of having done its best to put its house in order, ended the budget session of the Council which stood prorogued.

#### BENGAL AMUSEMENTS TAX (AMEND.) BILL

By 51 against 17 votes, the Council passed the Bengal Amusements Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1935. The Bill places an amusement tax on certain low-priced tickets of admission which are at present exempt from the amusement tax, namely :

(a) by extending the tax of one anna (which at present applies to tickets of admission whose cost exceeds eight annas but does not exceed 12 annas) so that it is payable also on tickets whose cost exceeds four annas, and

(b) by imposing an amusement tax of half-anna on tickets of admission whose cost exceeds three annas but which does not exceed four annas.

Several amendments were moved seeking to exclude four-anna tickets from the scope of the amusement tax which were all lost without a division.

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His Excellency Lord Erskine, the Governor of Madras delivered an important speech opening the January Session of the Madras Legislative Council at Madras on the 21st. January 1935. Commenting upon the 'great changes' that are impending in the future government of the presidency and alluding to some criticism made in various quarters concerning the proposed reforms, he observed that his remarks were, of course, subject to the passage of a legislation on the lines of the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee by the Imperial Parliament. The Governor said : 'In the first place I would point out that in presidencies and provinces full self-government is to be granted. In future all departments will be presided over by Ministers answerable to the legislature and responsibility for the maintenance of law and order and raising taxation and distribution of revenue will be placed upon their shoulders. Indeed, in the provincial field full self-government, to which Indians have so long aspired, will now be attained by them. It has been argued that special powers and safeguards, placed in the hands of Governors, have negatived the grant of responsible government. I have no hesitation in saying that this idea comes from a complete mis-reading of the proposals. As I said in my speech at the St. Andrews day dinner, in every constitution there must always be some ultimate power that can come to the rescue, if the affairs of state

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Earlier in the day the Justice party met informally and decided to support the resolution but gave freedom to members of the depressed classes who were members of the party to vote as they liked.

#### RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

*Mr. Natesa Mudaliars'* resolution recommending the Government to set apart at least one lakh of rupees for unemployment relief in the city and the mofussil from provincial revenues was under discussion when the Council rose.

**25th. JANUARY :**—*Mr. Natesa Mudaliar's* resolution was carried without a division with the amendment that steps be taken to relieve unemployment in the presidency. The Home Member made a most sympathetic reply remarking that none would be happier than the Government to do what they could to relieve unemployment. He recounted the schemes the Government had launched which would to a great extent relieve unemployment, specially among the uneducated. The speakers drew the Government's attention to the acute state of distress among the unemployed and suggested to the Government that the Government should embark on schemes of public utility. One member suggested a conference between the Government, millowners and the trade union to enable them to find employment for more workers.

#### HINDU RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS (AMEND.) BILL

The Council passed a non-official Bill to amend the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act of 1926, empowering the Government in suitable cases to notify certain temples and place them under special management to ensure their smooth and efficient administration.

#### Joint Committee Report Debate

**28th. JANUARY :**—In the Council to-day, *Mr. C. A. Souter*, Revenue Member, moved that the report of the J. P. C. on Indian reforms be taken for consideration. In doing so, he explained the attitude the Government had decided to adopt towards the debate. In the first place the Secretary of State had requested that the entire proceedings after the debate should be transmitted to London as early as possible by Air Mail. The Government did not propose to take part in any division which might occur in the course of the debate but any official member might, if he thought necessary as occasion arose, participate in the debate. He proposed, being in charge of the resolution, to sum up briefly.

The President then announced that the amendment of *Dr. Subbaroyan*, leader of the Opposition, be taken up first.

*Dr. Subbaroyan* moved that the following be added to the official motion:—"This Council is constrained after a full and earnest consideration of the whole question to record its opinion that the scheme of the Joint Select Committee does not satisfy the aspirations of the people of this country and is unacceptable and it is better to remain and struggle under the existing constitution, defective though it be, than to be saddled with the constitution proposed under the report."

In the course of a lengthy speech Dr. Subbaroyan said: "I am sure the honourable members who represent British interests in this House will realise that if they do not join us to-day in asking from Great Britain a more satisfactory constitution than the one propounded in the report of the Joint Select Committee a time will come when they might have to forget the existence of this country altogether. I am sure again that they will agree with me when I say that neither I nor they desire the time when the feelings between India and England would be such that it would be impossible for Indians and Europeans to live in this country as peaceful citizens." He felt sure if Great Britain treated India in a generous way in the matter of the present constitution, no time would come when talks of separation would arise, but if really Indians were not treated in a generous manner the movement for separation would grow only stronger. Dr. Subbaroyan maintained that the Committee's proposals did not implement the pledge given in the Irwin-Gandhi Pact of 1931. Proceeding, he said that he for one did not dispute the communal 'award' but he would ask his Majesty's Government to give India a constitution which would be acceptable and which would confer practical autonomy on the country. He was willing to grant that in the matter of Defence

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ment. By the acceptance of the resolution, the deficit in the present financial year's working for the year 1934 and 1935 would become two and a half crores and the closing balance would be converted which at the end of the current year was expected to have a balance of Rs. 215 lakhs to an overdraft of Rs. 33 lakhs.

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*Maulana Yakub Hasan*, leader of the Moslem group, said that retrograde and disappointing though the White Paper was it was more liberal than the J. P. C. Report. The scheme required substantial modifications to secure the goodwill for working it in a peaceful atmosphere.

India owed a debt of gratitude to the fortitude, courage and sincere devotion to the cause of India's progress of the far-seeing statesman, Sir Samuel Hoare, said *Sir A. P. Patro* speaking on the J. P. C. Report. The National Government was able to keep the ship steady on its keel despite very stormy weather and rough onslaughts of the die-hards in England and the extremists in India. Continuing, the speaker said he would not be surprised that the Congress party itself would undertake to work the new constitution. He referred to the failures of the Nehru Report and the All-parties' Conferences and asked if it was possible to produce an agreed constitution which alone in his opinion would be acceptable to the country. Sir A. P. Patro considered the omission of the phrase 'Dominion Status' in the report as an error when it included the Royal Proclamation and the Instrument of Instructions to the Viceroy. Paying a high tribute to Lord Willingdon whom the speaker described as India's tried friend, Sir A. P. Patro said that his advice based on long and distinguished experience, sound statesmanship and love of country was most valuable to the people. Concluding, he said practical service and the successful working of the scheme was the surest way for the attainment of India's political goal—the attainment of Swaraj.

*Mr. Kalifullah*, Muslim member, said that second chambers were absolutely necessary and he wanted a statutory provision for communal representation both in the legislature and the services. All talk of nationalism till communal differences were settled would be talk in the mid air and he blamed the Congress for not tackling the communal question.

The *Rajah of Kalikote*, a Round Tabler, said that second chambers in Madras were absolutely necessary. The debate was then adjourned.

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The Council also adopted an amendment moved by the depressed classes' representative urging the Government not to operate in this presidency the Communal Award as amended by the Poona Pact, and an amendment by an Indian Christian member that more seats should be allotted to his community in the Legislative Council.

*Sir Kurma Keddi*, Law Member, though emphasizing that he was speaking on his own responsibility and not on behalf of the Government, said the occasion was too momentous for him to sit silent. If Dominion Status could not be granted now it ought to be possible to make it India's goal. He did not object to the plea for direct election, for he felt that direct election had an advantage in that it would furnish the best education to illiterate and ignorant voters in this country. In struggling for India's freedom the younger generation should not forget what had happened in the past.

To those who complained that India has not been treated as fairly as South Africa, Canada or Australia, Sir Kurma would reply that there was no analogy between India and those Dominions. They had no Hindu-Moslem problem nor a system by which communities were treated as untouchables. India must not claim equality with those Dominions. Further, Indians had not yet produced an agreed Constitution. Would Moslems give up the Communal Award or the Hindu Mahasabha agree to a large number of seats in the legislatures being given to Moslems or the depressed classes? What was the good of talking about agreed constitutions when they had wasted three years in attempts? An all-parties conference had been held only to be dissolved in utter shame. The Council at this stage adjourned till the 20th February.

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*Sir Kurma Reddi*, Law Member, though emphasizing that he was speaking on his own responsibility and not on behalf of the Government, said the occasion was too momentous for him to sit silent. If Dominion Status could not be granted now it ought to be possible to make it India's goal. He did not object to the plea for direct election, for he felt that direct election had an advantage in that it would furnish the best education to illiterate and ignorant voters in this country. In struggling for India's freedom the younger generation should not forget what had happened in the past.

To those who complained that India has not been treated as fairly as South Africa, Canada or Australia, Sir Kurma would reply that there was no analogy between India and those Dominions. They had no Hindu-Moslem problem nor a system by which communities were treated as untouchables. India must not claim equality with those Dominions. Further, Indians had not yet produced an agreed Constitution. Would Moslems give up the Communal Award or the Hindu Mahasabha agree to a large number of seats in the legislatures being given to Moslems or the depressed classes? What was the good of talking about agreed constitutions when they had wasted three years in attempts? An all-parties conference had been held only to be dissolved in utter shame. The Council at this stage adjourned till the 20th February.

The *Revenue Member*, referring to budget criticism, defended the revenue system of the province which, he said, was reasonable and suitable to the country. Referring to the resolution passed by the Council demanding land revenue remissions, he said that special remissions had been granted during the last three years and no responsible Government would grant such a large percentage of remission as had been demanded in the resolutions.

The *Home Member* was glad that police administration had not been criticized. Referring to the establishment of Rescue Homes, in connexion with the enforcement of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, he said that even the available rescue homes in the city were not made use of, only two girls having been brought there.

The *Education Minister*, defending Government's educational policy, said the new provisions of the Elementary Education Amendment Act would not scare away students as was feared by some members and added that criticism on that account was unjustifiable. He hoped that cottage-industry products would find an easier market now than they had formerly enjoyed. The Council at this stage adjourned till the 9th. March.

#### VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

**9th. MARCH:**—The Council resumed its sitting to-day when voting on demands for grants were taken up. The Revenue Member moved a grant of Rs. 17,27,300 under the head 'Land Revenue' (reserved).

Mr. *Ramalingam Chetty*, deputy leader of the Opposition, moved that Rs. 37,500 for pay and establishments be omitted with a view to asserting the right of the Council to withhold grants until grievances were redressed. The speaker strongly protested against the refusal of the Government to give adequate remission in land revenue and describing the conditions of agriculturists as deplorable, particularly in the Ceded districts and Malabar, and appealed to the Government to reduce the scale of officers' salary and grant immediate substantial relief to the ryots.

Mr. Ramalingam's cut motion in the land revenue demand was defeated by 54 votes to 31.

The Revenue Member, replying, said that the Government was doing its utmost to alleviate distress in the famine affected areas in the Ceded districts.

The Council voted the Land Revenue and Excise demands in full, a cut motion to criticize the Government's excise policy being rejected.

The Excise Minister, replying, observed that the problem of total prohibition could not be solved until the question of finding other sources of revenue was explored.

**11th. MARCH:**—The *Law Member* moved for a grant of Rs. 32,47,000 under the head 'Forest'. One member moved a token cut and complained that the Government were not exploiting the forest to the fullest extent, making them more remunerative. He further complained that the administration of the forest was top-heavy and urged reduction in the establishment. The *Law Member* refuted the charges. The cut was withdrawn and the grant was made fully.

**12th. MARCH:**—After question time today, Dr. *Subbaroyan*, leader of the Opposition, moved that 'the Ministers have lost the confidence of this House.' The President held that the motion was in order and asked the members who were in favour of the motion to stand up in their seats. The required number having stood up, the President fixed March 14 for the discussion of the motion.

Allegations of corruption in the Registration Department were made by some members to-day by means of a token cut motion when the *Minister for Development* moved for a grant of Rs. 29,31,000 under the head "Registration" (Transferred). The Minister, replying, said he was aware of corruption in the Registration Department as there was corruption in every walk of life. He said that the public were to be blamed for encouraging corruption by offering bribes to the poorly-paid servants of the department. He had drawn the attention of the head of the department to the matter who was doing his best to stop the evil practice. The Minister added that he would once again draw that official's attention to it.

The entire grant was voted.

The House also voted without a cut the demand of Rs. 93,09,200 mad by the *Revenue Member* under the head "Irrigation" (excluding the Cauvery Mettur project).

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*Mr. Ramon Menon*, leader of the Justice Democratic party, seconding the motion, criticised the policy of the Ministry with particular reference to the administration of the local boards and municipalities.

*Mr. Yahia Ali* (Justice) opposing the motion said that the no-confidence motion was a weapon to be used in extraordinary cases and only when the Opposition was in a position to carry on the administration. The speaker defended the policy of the Ministry, refuting the allegations.

*Mr. C. Basudev* (nominated member representing labour interests who resigned from the Justice party) said that he seceded as he had not enough scope for work for the interests he represented. He spoke neither in favour nor against the motion and his criticism and praise of the Ministry were rather evenly balanced.

*Mr. Yakub Hasan* said that the results of the recent elections to the Assembly and bye-elections to the local legislature showed that the country had lost confidence in the justice party.

*Mr. Abusul Hamid Khan* characterised the Ministers as tools in the hands of the reserved half and that was why the Government used repressive measures during the civil disobedience days. He criticised their voting against the resolution in the House asking for land revenue remission.

*Sir A. P. Patro*, opposing the motion, said that the Justice party believed in the gradual realisation of Swaraj by peaceful means and stood for full provincial autonomy and Federation at the centre.

*Kumararaja Muthia Chettier*, supporting the motion, referred to the allegations of undue influence being brought to bear on members in canvassing votes for the proposition and said that the result of voting would show who used influence.

*Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliar*, ex-Minister, opposed the motion observing that his own Ministry (of which Dr. Subbaroyan was the chief) was guilty of the same offences in matters municipal as the present ministry was charged with.

The *Rajah of Bobbili*, Chief Minister, said that Dr. Subbaroyan's party was incompetent to criticize the Justice party which was the only constitutional party functioning in this province. Referring to the allegations of the demoralisation of the Justice party, the Chief Minister said that when he assumed office, there was a certain sign of demoralisation and during the last two years, it was his business to carry on purification in the party.

*Dr. Subbaroyan*, replying, said that in all constitutional Governments there was room only for two parties, and if there were more to-day, it was because want of policy and principles, between parties. He hoped that during the next elections it would be possible to have only two parties, a party in power and another in opposition.

The motion was defeated by 42 votes to 80.

**15th. MARCH :—**In the Council to-day *Mr. T. M. Ramaswami Iyer* moved an adjournment motion to discuss the necessity for the issue of immediate orders postponing to an appropriate date the collection of the revenue instalments in March and April in view of the fact that the Tariff Amending Bill was now pending in the Legislative Assembly. The *Revenue Member* said that he would issue orders to all District Collectors to postpone the collection of the instalment to the last possible date in March. *Mr. Iyer* then withdrew his motion.

The House voted the entire grant of Rs. 7,38,500 under the head Legislative Bodies—Reserved. Token cut motions urging upon the Government the need for providing housing accommodation to members of the House and raising the travelling allowance and also the desirability of addressing the Accountant-General to sanction payment of the allowance to members without pre-audit were withdrawn after the Finance Member's reply.

When a demand for Rs. 2,30,71,100 was made by the *Revenue Member* under the heads Secretariat and Head quarters Establishment, District Administrations and Miscellaneous—Reserved, representatives of the minority communities complained of the inadequate representation of their communities in the Secretariat establishment, especially in the higher offices. Discussion on the demand was not over when the House rose.

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Referring to the protest against frequent changes in text books, the Minister said that the Government had quite recently issued an order, directing that text books be changed only once in five years. A revision of the scale of pay of teachers, he added, would receive the Government's careful consideration. Though an adequate amount was not provided for elementary education in the current budget, he assured the House that no effort would be lacking on the part of the Government to find more money for this purpose.

**22nd. MARCH:**—The Council to-day voted the demand for grant of a further sum not exceeding Rs. 10,20,000 under the head Electricity (reserved), towards the Mettur hydro-electric scheme.

The scheme provides for the construction of a power house with four generating units and a transmission line. The system, which will serve the districts of Salem, North Arcot, Trichinopoly and Tanjore, may eventually be extended to Madras and its vicinity. It is proposed to start construction in April next.

The House also voted Rs. 1,437,000 under the head 'Irrigation' (excluding the Cauvery Mettur project). This sum provides for special accelerated and widespread programme of improvements to minor irrigation works in the Presidency undertaken in view of the present economic depression and consequent unemployment among the rural population.

The *Law Member*, replying to a question, said that Sirdar Abdul Rahman, of Afghanistan, was a State prisoner, kept in Conoor, and that he was sanctioned a monthly allowance of Rs. 450. Representations received from him for increasing his allowance, etc., had been forwarded to the Government of India, as the Local Government of India were merely agents of the Central Government.

#### ADIDRAVIDA "GRIEVANCE"

After question time Mr. Basudev, Labour representative, sought leave to move an adjournment of the business of the House to consider the "increasing feeling in the country about the insecurity of person and property of Adidravidas, as evidenced by the entirely unprovoked and brutal attack by a caste Hindu village headman of the Surai in Arkenam Taluk on an innocent Adidravida worker and his wife on February 15, because he walked through the streets of the village holding an umbrella, and other frequent instances of the kind".

The *President* declined to grant leave on the ground that the matter did not assume a large and serious proportion and no specific instances were mentioned regarding other cases referred to.

#### RURAL WATER SUPPLY

**23rd. MARCH:**—The need for adequate water supply in rural areas was urged by Mr. C. Basudeb, labour representative, in the Council to-day by a cut motion on the Chief Minister's demand for grant of Rs. 2,468,400 for public health (transferred).

Several members spoke of the unsatisfactory nature of public health in rural parts and suggested ways and means for improving the same by replanning and rebuilding villages, instituting maternity and child welfare centres, and providing adequate water supply. The *Raja of Bobbili* said that they were not wanting in schemes for public health and rural development. The difficulty was one of finance. The Chief Minister hoped that the present depression would soon disappear enabling them to find more funds for rural health and sanitation. The cut motion was withdrawn.

The budget session of the Council then concluded and the President read a message from the Governor *proroguing the Council*. Cuts being withdrawn the grants were made in full. Time having expired guillotine was applied at this stage and the remaining demands were all carried.

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 TAIRSEE, MR. L. R.  
 TALPUR, SARDAR BAHADUR HAJI  
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 TTAM

## Proceedings of the Council

### Budget Session—Bombay—14th. February to 29th. March 1935

#### GOVERNOR'S OPENING SPEECH

The year on which you are entering will be a memorable one, said *Lord Brabourne*, Governor of Bombay, addressing the Bombay Legislative Council, which commenced its budget session at Bombay on the 14th. February 1935. The scheme of constitutional reforms, continued the Governor, which was before Parliament in the form of a Bill, would come up before them for discussion. Sufficient time had elapsed since the publication of the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and enough had been said or written about it that they should have had time to form an independent opinion, and the present was not the occasion to make more than the broadest remarks on the scheme. Whatever doubts might have been felt that those who were responsible for framing the proposals were not actuated by the same ideals or the same desire for the realisation of the self-government in India as an integral part of the empire as had been embodied in the preamble of the Government of India Act, 1919, should have been set at rest by the recent statement of the Secretary of State. 'If this is so, you should, I think,

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**Budget Session—Bombay—14th. February to 29th. March 1935**

### GOVERNOR'S OPENING SPEECH

The year on which you are entering will be a memorable one, said *Lord Brabourne*, Governor of Bombay, addressing the Bombay Legislative Council, which commenced its budget session at Bombay on the 14th. February 1935. The scheme of constitutional reforms, continued the Governor, which was before Parliament in the form of a Bill, would come up before them for discussion. Sufficient time had elapsed since the publication of the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and enough had been said or written about it that they should have had time to form an independent opinion, and the present was not the occasion to make more than the broadest remarks on the scheme. Whatever doubts might have been felt that those who were responsible for framing the proposals were not actuated by the same ideals or the same desire for the realisation of the self-government in India as an integral part of the empire as had been embodied in the preamble of the Government of India Act, 1919, should have been set at rest by the recent statement of the Secretary of State. 'If this is so, you should, I think,

excluding the assessments of alienated lands less quit rents, barrage land sales, net additional revenue of barrage canals, barrage interest met from revenue, and tobacco tax in Bombay City, as these items balance on both sides of the account. The Chief decrease in revenue was Rs. 13 lakhs in the combined land and irrigation revenue of Sind, mainly owing to increased irrigation working expenses, counter-balanced by increased realization under Excise (Rs. 3 lakhs), Forests (Rs. 2 lakhs), Bombay Development Scheme (Rs. 2 lakhs), and miscellaneous (Rs. 2 lakhs).

The reductions in expenditure were spread over many heads, the more important being interest (Rs. 6 lakhs), due to conversion operations and largely counter-balanced by correspondingly less recoveries (Rs. 4 lakhs), from Presidency Corporations, civil works (Rs. 3 lakhs), and pensions (Rs. 3 lakhs).

The following note appears about the accounts of 1934-35 :—

The current year's opening balance was Rs. 114 lakhs, of which Rs. 75 lakhs is the statutory balance in the Famine Relief Fund. The final budget estimates provided for a revenue deficit of Rs. 10 lakhs and no provision was made for debt repayment. The revenue position had been worsened by nearly Rs. 7 lakhs, mainly as a result of the provision for payment to the Government of India of the debt instalments due to be paid in the current year (Rs. 13 lakhs).

Excluding the five items mentioned in the last paragraph, which appear on both sides of the account, there is a net decrease of Rs. 2 lakhs in revenue receipts. The chief item under which less receipts are expected is Excise (Rs. 16 lakhs) owing to the extension of the instalment system in Bombay City, counter-balanced by increased realization under Forests (Rs. 5 lakhs), Irrigation (Rs. 9 lakhs) and extraordinary receipts (Rs. 3 lakhs.)

The expenditure side of the estimates has increased by Rs. 5 lakhs, due to the provision of Rs. 13 lakhs for debt repayment, partially counter-balanced by the net betterment of Rs. 8 lakhs spread over various other heads.

"If I cannot say that the budget I am presenting is a prosperity budget or even a balanced budget, I may at least claim that it is not one that plans excessive expenditure," said Khan Bahadur D. B. Cooper presenting the budget.

"We cannot show any surplus, but we can at least do the next best thing—not spend more than is absolutely necessary."

"Depression in trade and industry is gradually disappearing, but it has not disappeared yet. Political peace is restored, but its continuance has yet to be definitely assured."

"Co-operation and harmonious working are making themselves visible on the distant horizon but they have not yet materialized in such substance and volume as to dispel all fear of reversion to the old type."

The Finance Member detailed the effects of trade depression, remissions and suspensions of land revenue during the past four years, saying that suspensions had totalled Rs. 1,98,00,000 and remissions Rs. 1,89,00,000.

The Government were now examining the question to find out whether concessions could be given in a more regular manner. They had decided that, when considering proposals for remissions, they would, as an experiment, take into account the comparative fall in prices as well as the nature of the season and the economic condition of the people.

The budget for 1934-35, added the Finance Member, had provided for a surplus of Rs. 1,00,000, but owing to the abolition of the town duty on cotton, this surplus had been converted into a deficit of Rs. 10,00,000. The latest revised estimates showed that the deficits came to Rs. 17,00,000.

#### Joint Committee Report Debate

**15th. FEBRUARY :**—The Council rejected to-day the motion brought forward by Mr. R. D. Bell, Home Member and Leader of the House that "the House do proceed to discuss the J. P. C. Report", by 38 votes to 21, the Government members remaining neutral. All Hindus voted against the motion, while Muslims and Europeans voted for it.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. R. R. Kale, complained that copies of the Report were not circulated to members. It was a trespass on the privilege of the House and they could not consider the Report. Mr. Kale brought to the notice of the President that the Government had not supplied copies of the Report to members. It was a voluminous document, which could not be discussed without properly studying it.

The Government explained that the India Government had not sent them a sufficient number of copies in time for circulating them to the House, and they could not say

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*Rao Bahadur Chitale*, in opposing the Budget proposals, referred to the recent press report that certain Government officials had objected to singing of Vandemataram in schools and asked the Home Member if such orders were issued by any Government Officials. No reply was given. The House then adjourned.

**19th. FEBRUARY** :—More than a dozen non-official members criticised the Government on their decision to restore the salary cuts, when they had not been able to balance their budget. Mr. *Freke*, Finance Secretary, replying to critics, justified the restoration of salary cuts on the ground that security of pay and pensions alone would ensure an honest and uncorrupt administration.

Mr. *Gazdar* (Karachi) characterised the Budget as a humdrum one and severely criticised the Government for exhausting their reserve fund.

Mr. *R. R. Bakhle* (nominated non-official), while congratulating the Government on the appointment of a Labour Officer, criticised the Government for restoring the salary cuts.

*Khan Bahadur Patel* (Broach) urged the remission of land revenue in Guzrat.

Mr. *Vandekar* (Surat) appealed for substantial relief to agriculturists.

Mr. *Mehta* (Panch Mahals) demanded that relief centres should be started in villages to give relief to agriculturists.

Mr. *Mahomed Mitha* (Bombay City) protested against the restoration of salary cuts and appealed to the Governor to abandon Poona exodus.

Mr. *Kale* (Bombay) asked why the Government of Bombay should follow the Secretary of State's advice in the matter of restoration of the salary cuts and not public opinion.

Mr. *Lane*, Development Secretary, referred to Mr. Tairsee's question yesterday whether the Indus river was shifting and said that there was no fear on the ground.

Mr. *Freke*, Finance Secretary, who justified the restoration of the salary cuts on the ground that it was necessary to ensure honest and clean administration, maintained that security of pay and pensions was the very foundation of sound administration and that was the reason why the Government took the first opportunity to restore the salary cuts.

*Rao Bahadur Bole* (nominated non-official) suggested that the amount on account of the salary cuts should be used for relieving unemployment in the Presidency.

**20th. FEBRUARY** :—The Council to-day concluded general discussion on the Budget. The main feature of to-day's debate was the rules given by the various Government members to the criticisms generally levelled by non-official members in the course of discussion.

Sir *Bhutto*, Minister for Local Self-Government, defended the Government policy in the matter of village panchayats and rural uplift work. He said that the Government had provided Rs. 33,000 for village panchayats and an equal amount for rural uplift work. Regarding the demand for paid officials to carry on this work, the Minister said that it would cost tremendously and, moreover, he was sure that there was enough public spirit among persons who were prepared to undertake the work.

Mr. *Kambli*, Minister for Education and Excise, justifying the Government's educational policy, said that primary education had made notable progress. The number of primary schools in the Presidency had increased from 12,652 (in 1932) to 14,660 (1934). During the same period, the number of teachers increased from 28,875 to 37,669, while the students increased from 79,508 to 168,564. Dealing with the Excise policy of the Government, he said, that the ultimate aim of the Government was prohibition and that they stood by their resolution of 1925, which laid down prohibition as the ideal. When it would be reached would depend upon such factors as stopping of illicit manufacture and sale and importation of liquors, for which the co-operation of the people was necessary.

*Khan Bahadur Cooper*, Finance Member, winding up the debate, replied to the criticism raised by members. While the Government had done their utmost to cut down expenditure, they did not follow blindly the Thomas Committee's recommendations which would have meant closing down the J. J. School of Art and the Poona Agricultural College. Dealing with criticisms, he pointed out that of Rs. 14 lakhs, of the restoration of the salaries cut, Rs. 2.9 lakhs concerned All-India Services, Rs. 4.8 lakhs concerned the provincial subordinate services, which also could not be touched without the sanction of the Secretary of State. The remaining amount was in connection with the salary of those who were getting less than Rs. 200 and it would not be fair if they only were exempted from restoration, particularly, in view of the fact that the Government of India and all Provincial Governments had restored the cuts. Regarding the demand for substantial remission of land revenue, he said that the

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**13th. MARCH** :—Several points of interest in the working of the Legislative Council and facilities for better administration were raised to-day, when Mr. *Gangoli* moved a cut under the head, General Administration (Reserved), to reduce by Rs. 100 in (B) Legislative Council's and (C) Provincial Legislative Council's total votable demand of Rs. 1,19,800. A strong plea was put in for an increase in the allowances of members on the basis that as the cut had been restored in the salaries of officials, it was unfair that the councillors who worked considerably harder and often sacrificed their professions and legitimate duties for the benefit of the people should be made to suffer in pocket. Among other suggestions made was the one that the Council should have three sessions instead of two to enable the members to get through the work that came up which was often in arrears and sometimes necessitated unusual prolongation of the sessions. Such a procedure would also ensure better working of the Legislature, as in the past it had been found that it took nearly one year for passing of a non-official Bill. Two other points raised during the debate were that the Library of the Council should be improved as it was "the poorest library in the whole country," and that a clerk, librarian and secretary be appointed to facilitate the working of the Council.

Mr. *R. D. Bell*, Home Member, replying, said that, while he admitted that the members had occasion to grumble over the time allotted for questions and answers, it must not be forgotten that in questions, the Government only have information and nothing more. No discussion was allowed on them for instance.

Two other cut motions were moved and withdrawn.

**14th. MARCH** :—Allegations of serious electioneering malpractices came up before the House, when Dr. *Gilder* moved a cut of Rs. 100 in the demand of Rs. 5,500 under legislative bodies during the Budget discussion.

The member held that the number of persons on the electoral rolls included the names of persons long dead and that impersonation in the worst form was very common during most of the elections. In election booths, votes were actually being sold and candidates knew that the votes could be bought and so they took no trouble to cater for them. He also held that the polling booths were thoroughly inadequate to satisfy the wants and requirements particularly during rush hours and only added to the general confusion and irregularity of the system of elections as practised in India, though it was felt that it was extremely difficult to give legal proofs of the existence of these malpractices, it was morally certain and it was necessary, if nothing else, that enquiry into the matter should be held at the earliest convenience.

The *Home Member*, in reply, said that there was a great deal of truth in the statements made in the House, but that more time and more money than at present was allowed were necessary for accurate and efficient management of the electioneering campaign. Replying to a question, he also stated that there was no possibility of the elections being held in the coming financial year, till franchise qualifications were definitely known.

**15th. MARCH** :—That there were nearly 1,500 gambling dens in the Princes Street Police section and that each was required to pay monthly at least Rs. 10 to the Police Officer in charge was the statement made by Mr. *G. S. Gangoli*, while moving a cut motion to the Police Department grant to-day.

Mr. *Mahomed Kasim Miha*, supporting the motion, said that Satta gambling in the City of Bombay was being carried on openly and was a great scandal. Speakers on the motion held that it was very difficult to prove the charge against the Police who in the mofussil were not only police officers, but magistrates and law-givers as well. The income that the Police acquired from the gambling exceeded the income of the *Home Member* himself.

Replying to the allegations made, Mr. *Bell*, Home Member, stated that the Government were aware of the existence of menace of gambling in the city and that steps would be taken to reduce it. It was, however, difficult to do so even though the Government had given orders that deterrent sentences should be pressed by the Public Prosecutor. The Government were examining the present Gambling Act with a view to bring before the House a Bill amending it. Discussion on demands for grants concluded.

#### MOTOR VEHICLES TAXATION BILL

**18th. MARCH** :—A Bill to provide for the levy of tax on motor vehicles was introduced by *Khan Bahadur D. B. Cooper*, Finance Member to-day. In moving the first reading of the Bill, the Finance Member said that the Bill sought to levy tax on motor vehicles in the Bombay presidency excluding Sind. He assured the House

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 MR. J. L. SATHE  
 MR. A. B. REID  
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 MR. A. A. WAUGH  
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 RAI BAHADUR PANDIT SURAJ DIN BAJPAL  
 RAI BAHADUR MR. PHUL CHAND MOGHA  
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 CHAUDHRI BALDEVA  
 RAI SAHIB SAHU JWALA SARAN KOTHIWALA  
 MR. TAPPU RAM  
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 MR. DAHARI  
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 BABU ADYA PRASAD  
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 MR. J. L. SATHE  
 MR. A. B. REID  
 MR. P. M. KHAREGAT  
 MR. A. A. WAUGH  
 MR. L. S. WHITE  
 MR. H. R. HARROP  
 RAI BAHADUR PANDIT SURAJ DIN BAJPAI  
 RAI BAHADUR MR. PHUL CHAND MOGHA  
 MR. H. J. FRAMPTON  
 KHAN BAHADUR MUNSHI MUSHTAQ ALI KHAN  
 KHAN BAHADUR SAYYID AIN-UDDIN  
 RAI BAHADUR RAM BABU SAKSENA  
 MR. D. L. DRAKE-BROCKMAN  
 MR. A. C. TURNER  
 MR. F. ANDERSON  
 LADY KAILASH SRIVASTAVA  
 KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI FASIH-UD-DIN  
 CAPTAIN K. O. CARLETON  
 MR. E. AHMAD SHAH  
 RAI SAHIB BABU RAMA CHARANA  
 MR. PERMA  
 RAI BAHADUR BABU AWADH BEHARI LAL  
 RAI BAHADUR BABU KAMTA PRASAD KAKKAR  
 CHAUDHRI RAM DAYAL  
 CHAUDHRI JAGARNATH  
 THE HON'BLE SIR SITA RAM (*President*)  
 CHAUDHRI BALDEVA  
 RAI SAHIB SAHU JWALA SARAN KOTHIWALA  
 MR. TAPPU RAM  
 PANDIT MOTI LAL BHARGAVA  
 RAJA BAHADUR KUSHAL PAL SINGH  
 CHAUDHRI RAM CHANDRA  
 CHAUDHRI GHASITA  
 RAI BAHADUR CHAUDHRI RAGHURAJ SINGH  
 CHAUDHRI ARJUNA SINGH  
 RAO BAHADUR THAKUR PRATAP BHAN SINGH  
 RAO SAHIB THAKUR SHIVA DHYAN SINGH

RAI BAHADUR KUNWAR GIRWAR SINGH  
 PANDIT JOTI PRASAD UPADHYAYA  
 CHOUDHRI DHIRYA SINGH  
 RAO KRISHNA PAL SINGH  
 RAI BAHADUR KUNWAR DHAKAN LAL  
 THAKUR BALWANT SINGH GAHLOT  
 RAI BAHADUR MR. BRIJ LAL BUDHWAR  
 RAO BAHADUR KUNWAR SARDAR SINGH  
 RAI BAHADUR BABU MANMOHAN SAHAI  
 LALA SHYAM LAL  
 RAI SAHIB BABU KAMTA NATH SAKSENA  
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 THAKUR KESHAVA CHANDRA SINGH  
 MR. BRIJNANDAN LAL  
 RAO NARSINGH RAO  
 RAI SAHIB RAM ADHIN  
 MR. BHONDU RAM  
 MAHARAO RAJA BAHADUR RAM SINGH  
 CHOUDHRI BHAROS  
 PANDIT SHRI SADAYATAN PANDE  
 RAJA SRI KRISHNA DUTT DUBE  
 RAI BAHADUR BABU JAGADEVA ROY  
 MR. DAHARI  
 RAI SAHIB RAI RAJESHWARI PRASAD  
 BABU ADYA PRASAD  
 RAJA SHIVAPATI SINGH  
 THAKUR GIRIRAJ SINGH  
 PANDIT PREM BALLABH BELWAL  
 THAKUR JANG BAHADUR SINGH BISHT  
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 PANDIT BRAHMA DUTT BAJPAI  
 RAI BAHADUR THAKUR HANUMAN SINGH  
 RAI BAHADUR LAL SHEO PRATAP SINGH  
 KUNWAR DIWAKAR PRAKASH SINGH  
 THAKUR MUNESHWAR BAKHSH SINGH  
 THAKUR JAINDRA BAHADUR SINGH  
 RAJA JAGADAMBIKA PRATAP NARAYAN SINGH  
 RAJA AMBIKESHWAR PRATAP SINGH  
 RAJA BIRENDRA BIKRAM SINGH  
 RAI BAHADUR KUNWAR SURENDRA PRATAP SAHI  
 MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI  
 RAI RAJESHWAR BALI  
 MR. ZAHUR AHMAD  
 SYED ALI ZAHEER  
 KHAN SAHIB SAHIBZADA HAJI SHAIKH MUHAMMAD RASEID-UD-DIN AHMAD  
 SYED YUSUF ALI

## EDUCATION OF BACKWARD CLASSES

**21st. FEBRUARY** :—The Council could not finish even half of the non-official business put down for the day, due to somewhat lengthy speeches, which characterised the debates on the motions discussed. Heat was imported into the discussion by *Rai Saheb Ramcharan's* motion, recommending to the Government that it should take exactly the same measures for the education of backward classes, as it had been taking in the case of the Depressed Classes and eventually there was a passage at arms between Sir J. P. Srivastava, Education Minister, and *Nawabzada Liqat Ali Khan*, Deputy President, following the latter's reference to slow the pace with which Muslim education was progressing. The House accepted the resolution as amended by Mr. Ahmed Shah for widening the scope of "backward classes" as to include Hindus, Muslims, Christians and not only Hindus.

The House passed two other resolutions, one recommending to the Government to take immediate steps to revise for the next fasli year the existing scheme of remissions in rent revenue and expand the co-operative movement in the provinces.

## SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS

**23rd. FEBRUARY** :—The Council sat just for an hour this morning when it voted the demands for supplementary grants in 1934-35 aggregating to Rs. 1,19,891 and referred to the Select Committee the Tobacco Bill, after rejecting without division, Mr. Hafiz Mahomed Ibrahim's amendment that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon.

The House also accepted unanimously the Finance Member's motion recommending to the Government the continuance of the capital programme, irrigation and hydro-electric projects, advances to local bodies and cultivators, pension commutations and civil works.

References were made to the unsatisfactory acoustic properties of the Council Chamber in connection with the Finance Member's token supplementary demand for Rs. 10 for improving the same at an estimated cost of about Rs. 13,610.

## OFFICIAL BILLS DISCUSSED

**25th. FEBRUARY** :—The Council held perhaps the shortest and liveliest sitting this morning, when a series of technical difficulties led to the development of a piquant situation. When the Finance Member Sir Edward Blunt moved for reference to a select committee the Bill amending the Court Fees Act of 1870, *Nawabzada Liqat Ali Khan*, Leader of the Democratic Party, objected to the same on the ground that the reference motion was not included in the original list of business set down for the day and there was insufficiency of notice.

The President, Sir Sitaram, said that according to the Standing Orders, he could not uphold Nawabzada's objection, but pointed out that the only objection that could be made was that the Bill had not been made available to the members seven days before the motion was made and if and when such an objection was raised, he would uphold it. Thereupon, Nawabzada made this objection which was upheld by the President.

Exactly similar difficulty was found with the Bill amending the Stamp Act of 1889 and, accordingly, reference of both to select committee was postponed to a later date.

Yet another hitch occurred in connection with the election of a member to the Select Committee on the Mussalman Waqfs Bill. When Sir J. P. Srivastava, Education Minister, made a motion to this effect, the President pointed out that the Bill being a non-official one, only the member-in-charge could do this and not the Minister-in-charge. The Legal Remembrancer agreeing with the President's view, the motion was ruled out of order.

The House passed unanimously on the motion of the Home Member, Kunwar Jagdish Prasad, the National Parks Bill as it emerged from the Select Committee.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**28th. FEBRUARY** :—A feature of the concluding stages of the general discussion of the Budget to-day was the replies given by the Government members on the general criticism levelled against their respective Departments by the Opposition members. Mr. Sheikh Mahomed Habibullah, who was the first speaker to-day, asked the members of the provincial service to continue sacrificing a part of their salaries by voluntarily agreeing to the retention to the cut with a view to inflicting a sense of shame on the members of the All India Services and showing them that they of the provincial service were more interested in the welfare of the people.

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The House divided on a comparatively unimportant demand for Rs. 50,000 in connection with the extension of the nurses' home in King George's and Queen Mary's Hospitals, Lucknow.

*Khan Bahadur Fazlul Rahaman Khan* moved for the entire omission of the item to which *Khan Bahadur Fashiuddin* moved an amendment for substituting Rs. 25, 000 for Rs. 50,000 demanded. Division resulted in a decisive victory for the Government. *Khan Bahadur Fashiuddin's* amendment being rejected by 34 to 8 votes.

**12th. MARCH** :—Government suffered a defeat in the Council to-day by the casting vote of the Chair on the token cut of Re. 1 relating to the Government's tentative road programme involving expenditure of Rs. 80 lakhs to be spread over a period of five years. This was in connection with the presentation by the Minister for Local Self-Government, Nawab Sir *Mahomed Yusuf*, of the demand for the grant of Rs. 15 lakhs to be spent during the next year on the reconstruction of new roads.

Several token cuts were moved to raise the issue that this sum of Rs. 15 lakhs should not be spent without furnishing the House with details of the road programme and without obtaining its approval.

*Nawab Yusuf* gave an undertaking that the details of the scheme would be placed before the House in the June session of the Council.

*Mr. C. Y. Chintamani*, Leader of the Opposition, wanted to know what would happen if the recommendation of the House was not accepted by the Government of India.

*Nawab Yusuf* replied that he could not possibly say anything, as the hands of the Local Government were tied and there was no alternative for them but to submit to the dictates of the Government of India in the matter.

This position appearing unsatisfactory to the sponsors, the cut motion was put to vote. The Government challenged a division which resulted in a tie of 27 votes.

The House earlier in the day rejected *Thakur Muneshwar Singh's* motion for omission of the item of Rs. 15 lakhs.

Strong disapproval of the decision of the Secretary of State to restore the cut in salaries of the members of All-India Services was expressed through a cut motion moved by *Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman*, to which *Mr. Chintamani* moved an amendment reducing to Rs. 10 the figure Rs. 5,000 in the original motion.

The House accepted the amendment after the Home Member, *Kunwar Jagdish Prasad* had made the position of the Government in the matter clear. He said that if the cut was carried the Government would regard it as an indication of the wish of the House that the cut in the pay of the provincial and subordinate services in all Departments, Reserved and Transferred, should be maintained.

**13th. MARCH** :—The question of the restoration of salary cut was raised again in the Council this morning through a token cut of Rupee 1, moved by *Mr. Sheikh Habibullah* in respect of the demand under head "Forest".

In view of the fact that the House had already expressed its verdict on the question as far as the Imperial services were concerned and far-reaching consequential effects on the members of the Provincial and Subordinate Services, if the motion was carried, the President, *Sir Sitaram* asked the mover to clarify the issue and put it in as definite and unequivocal a form as possible.

The mover stated that his object was that there should be no restoration of cut in the salaries of provincial and subordinate services. He disclaimed that his intention was to punish the members of these services but his object was only to make them share in the sufferings of their own people. On the other hand, he looked upon the cut as an honourable surrender in the interests of the people.

The Home Member, *Kunwar Jagdish Prasad* strongly opposing the motion, pointed out that the House yesterday definitely decided as far as the Provincial Subordinate Services were concerned that they did not wish to make any change and thought it rather unfair to raise the same issue again. He maintained that if Mr. Habibullah's proposition was accepted it would spell disaster on the members of the Provincial Subordinate Services and stressed the desirability of keeping them contented.

*Nawabzada Liagat Ali Khan*, Deputy President held that reason was certainly with the mover but sentiment was against him. He hoped that the mover would yield to sentiment and appealed to him to withdraw the motion.

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The problem of secondary education, he continued, was by no means simple. It appeared twofold—(1) making it more practical and more vocational with a view to making it better designed to increase the material wealth of the country; (2) readjustment of the years of students' life between the various institutions. The Government of India were also taking keen interest therein, while the committee under the chairmanship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Board of Economic Enquiry were addressing themselves directly to this aspect of education as it affected the problem of unemployment. But it seemed unlikely that any radical changes could be introduced without incurring a large amount of expenditure and whatever reorganisation and reorientation in education was undertaken, care would be taken to ensure that the existing institutions which had been built up with so much labour and expenditure were not needlessly destroyed.

Proceeding, he said that the year had been marked by vigorous educational activity despite continued financial stringency, the Government having undertaken such developments as were possible within the limits imposed by the Finance Member.

Referring to girls' education, Sir Srivastava said that there had been notable expansion in girls' primary education for which a sum of Rs. 1,25,000 had been set apart in 1935-36 budget estimates. As regards vernacular education, the Minister admitted that the progress in this branch had been slow, though special attention was being paid to the education of the depressed and backward classes. Provision in this year's budget for the depressed classes' education was over Rs. 1,20,000.

**23rd. MARCH :—**When the debate on Pandit Jotiprosad Upadhyaya's token cut motion of Re. 1 in respect of Government Training Colleges was resumed this morning, speakers from the Opposition Benches, including Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Leader of the Opposition, strongly criticised the method of admission of candidates to the Colleges. It was also urged that the system of giving stipends to those who could secure admission to these institutions should either be entirely done away with or their number of stipendiaries drastically curtailed, so that the money thus saved could be utilized for a better purpose. One of the speakers even suggested that in view of unemployment being rampant among trained teachers, training colleges should cease functioning for some time at least. Mr. Chintamani urged the desirability of affiliating the Government Training College at Allahabad to the University. Mr. H. R. Haroop, Director of Public Instruction, did not agree with the view that there was considerable unemployment among the teachers passing out of training colleges, while Sir J. P. Srivatsava, Education Minister, explained, at length, the reasons which had led him to introduce an innovation in the method of selecting candidates for training colleges. It was in response to the persistent demand that some change should be made in the machinery for selection of students, that he constituted selection boards as final authorities in the matter, one of the reasons which influenced him to do it being the desire to obviate charges of favouritism and even nepotism brought against the selecting authority. As regards the suggestion to affiliate the Allahabad Training College to the local University, the Hon'ble Minister said that the question was a difficult one and the Government had decided not to effect this change for the time being. The motion was withdrawn.

The House carried Mr. Chintamani's cut motion of Rs. 10 under the head "University Education," urging increased representation of Provincial Universities in the local Council.

#### IRRIGATION WORKS—GOVT. STATEMENT

**25th. MARCH :—**A critical survey of the Government scheme with regard to the sinking of tube-wells in certain districts of the province was made to-day when various cut-motions were moved under the heads Irrigation and Hydro-electric Works.

The Chief Engineer, Sir William Stampe, made an important announcement that the Government had decided that as soon as it was known by the actual results that the tube-wells were not going to be a failure either geologically or commercially, the water courses would be constructed at the expense of the State and no additional charges would be made for irrigation from them. Sir William Stampe also informed the House that the question of the extension of tube-wells in grid area which was hitherto confined to non-grid area was now receiving careful attention of the Irrigation Department. Outlining the main features of the Government policy in tube-well construction, Sir William Stampe pointed out that the success of the scheme depended upon two factors, namely; (1) there should be water underground in suitable form to lift out. (2) and there should be suitable form of power

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also claimed that if his proposal was accepted, it would considerably reduce the huge volume of arrears of work lying before the Allahabad High Court.

Elucidating the legal aspect of the question, the Home Member *Kunwar Jagdish Prasad*, pointed out that as soon as the Government of India Bill was enacted, the Lucknow Chief Court would become a High Court and according to the provisions of the Bill, before the Chief Court could be amalgamated with the High Court of Allahabad, both these Courts would have to present an address to the Governor containing this request for submission to His Majesty and it would only then be that such amalgamation would take place. This being the legal position, it was not possible for this House to pass any motion on which the Government could act.

The motion was withdrawn.

#### MEDICAL DEPT.—MINISTER'S STATEMENT

**28th. MARCH :**—The woeful tale of the lack of funds impeding at every step the expansion of the activities of the Medical Department, was told by *Nawab Sir Mahomed Yusuf*, Minister for Local Self-Government, in the course of the speech he made in connection with the introduction of medical estimates totalling Rs. 31,24,269.

The Minister, however, hoped that the Department would not continue to suffer from paucity of funds. While emphasising that the Department was serving the vital needs of the province in the shape of medical relief and medical education, the Minister recognised that much leeway had to be made in these directions, but added that it would be admitted that on the whole the Department, despite the financial limitations, was putting forth its maximum efforts and was obtaining the best results for the benefit of the public. One of the most difficult problems confronting them was that of providing medical aid in the rural areas. He admitted that they had not been able to think out any definite schemes which would be within their means as even the most modest scheme would require an appreciable amount of money to begin with. It was just possible that they might have to think of combining the Allopathic and Unani systems for solving this problem, but their difficulties were enhanced by the fact that sufficient number of trained Hakims and Vaidas were not forthcoming. Coming to the special curative measures, Nawab Yusuf said that every effort was being made to combat cerebro-spinal meningitis as a result of which the percentage of deaths from that disease was steadily going down. They were also controlling tuberculosis and recently opened three anti-tuberculosis hospitals.

*Haji Obaidar Rahman Khan's* motion for the entire omission of the demand under medical establishment through which he drew the attention of the Government to the progressive incidence of infant mortality in the province and complained that nothing was being done to combat, was negatived by 38 votes to 31.

The House, however, accepted the same member's cut-motion urging the need for finding more funds for affording adequate medical relief in the villages. He suggested that the local bodies should be given greater financial assistance from the funds allotted by the Central and Local Governments for rural uplift.

**29th. MARCH :**—The question of granting further remissions in land revenue proportionate to those in the rent in accordance with the law was raised on a cut-motion by *Khan Bahadur Jagar Hossain* to-day, when Land Revenue estimates were presented.

The mover drew attention "to the unsatisfactory" nature of [the remissions in the land revenue, complaining that no steps had been taken by the Government to give adequate relief to the Zamindars in this shape. He argued that as it had been decided to restore the salary cut in case of the Government servants, it was high time that relief should also be provided to the Zamindars who had been hard hit by the continued economic depression.

*Kunwar Jagdish Prasad*, Home Member, replying, said that no elaborate arguments were needed to convince the Government of the difficult situation in which the Zamindars found themselves as a result of slump conditions. The problem had been causing a great deal of anxiety to the Government. Kunwar Jagdish Prasad assured the House that they were bestowing their greatest attention on the matter. He, however, was not prepared to commit the Government to the proposition of granting remissions in the revenue proportionate to those in the rent.

The motion was carried, the Government not opposing.

**30th. MARCH :**—Guillotine was applied at 5 p. m. to-day and the Budget for 1935-36 was put to vote and passed.

also claimed that if his proposal was accepted, it would considerably reduce the huge volume of arrears of work lying before the Allahabad High Court.

Elucidating the legal aspect of the question, the Home Member *Kunwar Jagdish Prasad*, pointed out that as soon as the Government of India Bill was enacted, the Lucknow Chief Court would become a High Court and according to the provisions of the Bill, before the Chief Court could be amalgamated with the High Court of Allahabad, both these Courts would have to present an address to the Governor containing this request for submission to His Majesty and it would only then be that such amalgamation would take place. This being the legal position, it was not possible for this House to pass any motion on which the Government could act.

The motion was withdrawn.

#### MEDICAL DEPT.—MINISTER'S STATEMENT

**28th. MARCH :**—The woeful tale of the lack of funds impeding at every step the expansion of the activities of the Medical Department, was told by *Nawab Sir Mahomed Yusuf*, Minister for Local Self-Government, in the course of the speech he made in connection with the introduction of medical estimates totalling Rs. 31,24,269.

The Minister, however, hoped that the Department would not continue to suffer from paucity of funds. While emphasising that the Department was serving the vital needs of the province in the shape of medical relief and medical education, the Minister recognised that much leeway had to be made in these directions, but added that it would be admitted that on the whole the Department, despite the financial limitations, was putting forth its maximum efforts and was obtaining the best results for the benefit of the public. One of the most difficult problems confronting them was that of providing medical aid in the rural areas. He admitted that they had not been able to think out any definite schemes which would be within their means as even the most modest scheme would require an appreciable amount of money to begin with. It was just possible that they might have to think of combining the Allopathic and Unani systems for solving this problem, but their difficulties were enhanced by the fact that sufficient number of trained Hakims and Vaidas were not forthcoming. Coming to the special curative measures, Nawab Yusuf said that every effort was being made to combat cerebro-spinal meningitis as a result of which the percentage of deaths from that disease was steadily going down. They were also controlling tuberculosis and recently opened three anti-tuberculosis hospitals.

*Haji Obaidar Rahman Khan's* motion for the entire omission of the demand under medical establishment through which he drew the attention of the Government to the progressive incidence of infant mortality in the province and complained that nothing was being done to combat, was negatived by 38 votes to 31.

The House, however, accepted the same member's cut-motion urging the need for finding more funds for affording adequate medical relief in the villages. He suggested that the local bodies should be given greater financial assistance from the funds allotted by the Central and Local Governments for rural uplift.

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The motion was carried, the Government not opposing.

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#### COURT FEES AMENDMENT BILL

**2nd. APRIL** :—The Council, after a whole day's discussion, rejected by 58 votes to 25 the Court Fees Amendment Bill, the first of a series of fresh taxation measures brought forward by the Government to reduce the deficit in the current year's budget. Speaker after speaker from the Opposition benches denounced the measure, Mr. E. Ahmed Shah (nominated), being the only non-official member who spoke in support of the Bill. The Opposition concentrated its attack on the Government decision to restore the salary cut and their non-compliance with the important recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee in 1931, despite the assurances said to have been given by the official spokesman that every effort would be made to translate them into practice, which, it was argued, led to a deficit, necessitating further taxation. It was emphasised that the lowest taxable limit of people had been already reached and they were unable to bear the heavier burden of taxation.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani strongly opposing the motion said deficit and debt had become cardinal principles of the budgets in the province during the last fourteen years. He accused the Government of trying to make justice even costlier than what it was as also of not carrying out even the most important recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee. He asked if Government had exhausted all sources of income before they inaugurated the constitution, how they would be able to meet the increased expenditure incidental thereto.

*Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan* said it might appear ominous for these provinces that the first act of the new Home Member should be to sponsor measures for the imposition of further taxation on the people. He humorously remarked that it being the first day of April, the Home Member was perpetrating a practical joke on the people of this province. Most of the burden of this taxation would fall on the agriculturists who were already in a pitiable condition. Had the 10 per cent cut been retained during the last two years, the province would have saved Rs. 36 lakhs and this year there would have been a slight surplus instead of 32 lakhs deficit.

The Home Member, *Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh*, replying to the debate, recounted the measures adopted by the Government to aid the agriculturists. He said that it had been wrongly assumed that the Government alone had been responsible for the present state of affairs. He assured the House that they would carry out appreciable reductions in expenditure in the near future. He wanted the House that if the measure was rejected, the Government would be left with no other opinion but either to reduce or entirely omit the expenditure on a considerable number of new items, not necessarily relating to the Reserved Departments.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS

**3rd. APRIL** :—The Government scored a decisive victory this morning, when the Council passed by 49 votes to 19 the supplementary demand for Rs. 750 to meet part of Miss Shephard's expenses. *Sir J. P. Srivastava* explained at length the nature of the activities of Miss Shephard in order to convince the House of the utility of her work. He described the debate on this "paltry" demand as a tempest in a tea cup.

The Government's initial triumph, however, proved short-lived as later in the day they suffered two successive defeats on other taxation measures.

#### STAMP ACT AMENDMENT BILL

The House rejected the Stamp Act Amendment Bill without division and the Tobacco Bill by 51 votes to 24. All opposition parties in the House again combined, as they did in throwing out the Court Fees Act Amendment Bill yesterday, to inflict heavy defeats on the Government.

Moving for consideration of the Stamp Act Amendment Bill, the Home Member, *Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh* said that the present Bill was altogether similar to the one rejected yesterday and the expected revenue from it was only about Rs. 2 and a half lakhs. The reason which had forced the Government to come forward with the measure was that there was very large deficit in the Budget which it would be impossible to remove by means of economies to be effected by Government before very long.

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## LISTED POSTS IN UNITED PROVINCES

**5th. APRIL** :—The abolition of the invidious distinction between the I. C. S. officers and other holders of listed posts and the increased representation of members of the provincial Civil Service in the listed posts were demanded in a resolution moved by Mr. *Thakur Hanuman Singh* in the Council this morning. The resolution also recommended to the Government to take immediate steps for (a) the promotion of officers of the Provincial Service to the superior I. C. S. posts to the full extent, due according to the recommendations of the Lee Commission and (b) the appointment of senior provincial service officers as District Officers to fill up hot weather and casual vacancies in preference to I. C. S. Officers of less than eight years standing in service.

The mover said that in 1924, the Commission recommended that 20 per cent of the superior posts should go to provincial service officers and that promotion should commence from that year (1924), but it actually commenced two years later. On account of the halting manner in which the Government had been recognising their claims, there was discontent and dissatisfaction among the members of the provincial service which ought to be removed as soon as possible. He complained that the assurance given by Sir Malcolm Hailey in 1934 that two superior posts would be given to the provincial civil service was not given effect to. There was a rumour that the Secretary of State has decided that unless and until every I. C. S. Officer of eight years' standing had been seconded for the superior post, the claims of no Provincial Service Officer would be considered. If that was so the aspirations of provincial officers would remain unfulfilled for a long time to come.

Mr. *J. M. Clay*, Chief Secretary, said that the mover had taken a somewhat gloomy view of the situation and the feelings of the present members of the Provincial Civil Service. While it could not be said that the Provincial Service had no grievances the speaker could from his personal experience say that they had always been only too ready and loyal to carry out orders. The Commission recommended that from 1924 the number of listed posts be increased from 16 to 24 and this had been accepted by the Government who were bound to carry it out. Eight posts were listed so far and the Secretary of State ordered that remaining posts be created by 1939 but these orders were subject to certain qualifications with regard to the just claims of the I. C. S.

As regards Sir Malcolm Hailey's assurance, Mr. Clay said that his recommendations were turned down by the Secretary of State on the ground that the U. P. Government were not in a position to assure the Secretary of State that listing of those two posts would not prejudicially affect the prospects of promotion of I. C. S.

The Home Member, *Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh*, said that though they were a subordinate Government whose recommendations were not always accepted, they proposed at an early date to review the situation and make recommendations with a view to increasing the number of listed posts. He hoped this announcement would in some measure allay the apprehensions of the Provincial Civil Service Members. The Government, he pleaded, would be left to decide as to when a Provincial Service Officer should be appointed to hot weather or casual vacancy and when the officer of the provincial service should be selected therefor. He assured that as far as possible the reasonable wishes of the Provincial Civil Service would be met.

The resolution was adopted, after the amendment substituting ten years standing for eight years in the case of I. C. S. officers was thrown out by the House.

## NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

**6th. APRIL** :—The Council was prorogued this afternoon after it had disposed of four non-official Bills. *Rai Bahadur Vikramajit Singh*'s Bill amending the Agra University Act with a view to changing the constitution of the Senate and Executive Council in order to increase representation of members of the local legislature on these two bodies was referred to a Select Committee.

The House also agreed to circulate *Syed Ali Zaheer*'s Bill to provide for the administration of Hussainabad and allied endowments for eliciting public opinion thereon. None of the six resolutions figuring on the agenda was moved.

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     MAN  
 74 MAULAVI ABDUL WADOOD  
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 76 KHAN BAHADUR SAGHIR-UL HAQ  
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 78  
 79 BABU RAMANUGRAH NARAYAN  
     SINGH  
 80 BABU BHAGWATI SARAN SINGH  
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## Proceedings of the Council

SPECIAL SESSION—PATNA—15th. to 17th. JANUARY 1935

### J. P. C. REPORT DEBATE

The special session of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council opened at Patna on the 15th. January 1935 to consider the J.P.C. Report. The attendance was rather poor, about 50 out of the total strength of 102 were present. The visitors' gallery was filled to suffocation. Several new members, both official and non-official, were sworn in, after which the President congratulated the recipients of honours among the Councillors, of whom Mr. Chandreswari Prasad Narayan Sinha was absent.

The Hon'ble *Nirsu Narayan Singh*, Finance Member, next moved for consideration of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report. The Hon'ble Member observed that it was impossible to define precisely the measure or the pace of self-Government of a people. The recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, however, contained such elements as Federation which constituted the foundation-stone for a united India hitherto unachieved.

Regarding the safeguards the Hon'ble Member thought that their very existence connoted a real transference of responsibility. Besides, there was also a safeguard against the Governor misusing the safeguards in the shape of a united body of Ministers backed by the majority in the House who could get all the nation-building measures passed under the constitution. Despite difference of opinion he believed that the constitution would be a real advance.

Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, the leader of the Opposition, moved the following amendment: "Having considered the scheme recommended to Parliament by the Committee, the Council is of the opinion that it is highly unsatisfactory and grossly inadequate to meet popular aspirations, is hedged by unnecessary and undesirable safeguards, betraying a deep distrust of Indians' capacity and character and, above all,

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the Joint Parliamentary Committee this Council is of opinion that taking the said scheme as a whole it is highly unsatisfactory and inadequate to meet popular aspirations and is hedged round by many unnecessary and undesirable safeguards, betraying a deep distrust of the Indian capacity and character and above all purposes to introduce drastic changes in the composition and constitution of the higher judiciary which is calculated to shake the confidence of the public in the judicial administration and the scheme is, therefore, not likely to evoke goodwill in its working on the part of his Majesty's Indian subjects and it requires substantial modifications and further the Council considers the omission of the expression "Dominion Status" from the J. P. C. report as the basis of the new constitution is unfortunate and this Council recommends to the local Government that proper representation be made to his Majesty's Government through proper channels to include the same in the preamble of the proposed India Bill.' The Council adopted the amendment and then adjourned till 13th. Feb.

## BUDGET SESSION—PATNA—13th. FEB. to 27th. MARCH 1935

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1935-36

The Budget Session of the Council commenced on the 13th. February. The hon. Babu *Nirsu Narayan Sinha*, Finance Member, introducing the budget estimates of the Government of Bihar and Orissa for the year 1935-36 first dealt with the earthquake expenditure. Summarising earthquake expenditure the Finance Member said that the Government of India were likely to have to meet a total expenditure of Rs. 177 lakhs, namely Rs. 93-4 lakhs in 1933-34, Rs. 66 lakhs in 1934-35 and Rs. 101 and a half lakhs in subsequent years and the local Government, apart from advancing loans, met Rs. 3 lakhs in 1934-35 and subsequent years, while they suffered a loss in revenue of Rs. 6 lakhs.

Turning to ordinary figures, the Finance Member said that it was estimated that the current year would open with an ordinary balance of Rs. 8 lakhs which was Rs. 3-4 lakh less than the figure estimated this time last year. Loss of revenue and increase of expenditure caused by the earthquake worsened the position by Rs. 8 lakhs. On the other hand, excise revenue improved by Rs. 13-4 lakhs and expenditure on police, irrigation and public works decreased by Rs. 53-4 lakhs.

It was estimated at the beginning of the year that there would be a deficit of Rs. 4 and a half lakhs in ordinary closing balance, but in the revised estimate an ordinary closing balance of Rs. 8 lakhs and 89 thousand was expected which meant an improvement of Rs. 13 lakhs. This improvement was mainly due to the Government of India shouldering a large share of the cost of reconstruction which enabled the local Government to meet their share of the cost by borrowing. Other factors contributing to the improvement were local Government's share of jute export duty (Rs. 11 and one-fourth lakhs), increase in excise (Rs. 7 lakhs) and forest revenue (13-4 lakhs) and savings in expenditure caused by the continuance of cut in pay (Rs. 8 and one-fourth lakhs) and postponement of elections to the provincial legislature (Rs. 4 lakhs). On the other side, there was a drop of other revenue (Rs. 4 lakhs) and increase in expenditure on account of earthquake (Rs. 3 and a half lakhs), on famine relief (Rs. 5 lakhs) and supplementary demands (Rs. 4 and a half lakhs).

For the next year, revenue was taken at Rs. 5 crores and 31 lakhs as compared with this year's budget of Rs. 5 crores 10 lakhs and revised estimate of Rs. 5 crores 33 lakhs. The improvement of Rs. 21 lakhs compared with the current budget was due to share of jute export duty (Rs. 11 and three-fourth lakhs) increase in excise revenue (Rs. 6 lakhs) and in receipts of interest on loans issued (Rs. 3 lakhs).

Expenditure charged to revenue was estimated at Rs. 5 crores 45 lakhs against Rs. 5 crores 30 lakhs in 1934-35. The budget provided for the full restoration of 5 per cent cut in pay, as the local Government decided to follow the lead of the Government of India and restore the cut in respect of pay earned during April and subsequent months. Charges for reduction and avoidance of debts increased by Rs. 5 lakhs, interest charges by Rs. 3 lakhs, pensionary charges by Rs. 2 lakhs and ordinary items of expenditure by Rs. 5 lakhs. Provision of Rs. 9 and a half lakhs was made for new schemes including full restoration of primary education grant (Rs. 3 lakhs 47 thousands), partial restoration of commissioners' augmentation grant (Rs. 1 and a half lakhs) and certain other semi-recurring schemes. Only Rs. 2 and a half lakhs represent new schemes proper. In the police department certain temporary forces were being replaced by a permanent force costing Rs. three-fourth lakh less. The ordinary closing balance is estimated at Rs. 75 thousand.

the Joint Parliamentary Committee this Council is of opinion that taking the said scheme as a whole it is highly unsatisfactory and inadequate to meet popular aspirations and is hedged round by many unnecessary and undesirable safeguards, betraying a deep distrust of the Indian capacity and character and above all purposes to introduce drastic changes in the composition and constitution of the higher judiciary which is calculated to shake the confidence of the public in the judicial administration and the scheme is, therefore, not likely to evoke goodwill in its working on the part of his Majesty's Indian subjects and it requires substantial modifications and further the Council considers the omission of the expression "Dominion Status" from the J. P. C. report as the basis of the new constitution is unfortunate and this Council recommends to the local Government that proper representation be made to his Majesty's Government through proper channels to include the same in the preamble of the proposed India Bill.' The Council adopted the amendment and then adjourned till 13th. Feb.

## BUDGET SESSION—PATNA—13th. FEB. to 27th. MARCH 1935

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1935-36

The Budget Session of the Council commenced on the 13th. February. The hon. Babu *Nirsu Narayan Sinha*, Finance Member, introducing the budget estimates of the Government of Bihar and Orissa for the year 1935-36 first dealt with the earthquake expenditure. Summarising earthquake expenditure the Finance Member said that the Government of India were likely to have to meet a total expenditure of Rs. 177 lakhs, namely Rs. 93-4 lakhs in 1933-34, Rs. 66 lakhs in 1934-35 and Rs. 101 and a half lakhs in subsequent years and the local Government, apart from advancing loans, met Rs. 3 lakhs in 1934-35 and subsequent years, while they suffered a loss in revenue of Rs. 6 lakhs.

Turning to ordinary figures, the Finance Member said that it was estimated that the current year would open with an ordinary balance of Rs. 8 lakhs which was Rs. 3-4 lakh less than the figure estimated this time last year. Loss of revenue and increase of expenditure caused by the earthquake worsened the position by Rs. 8 lakhs. On the other hand, excise revenue improved by Rs. 13-4 lakhs and expenditure on police, irrigation and public works decreased by Rs. 53-4 lakhs.

It was estimated at the beginning of the year that there would be a deficit of Rs. 4 and a half lakhs in ordinary closing balance, but in the revised estimate an ordinary closing balance of Rs 8 lakhs and 89 thousand was expected which meant an improvement of Rs. 13 lakhs. This improvement was mainly due to the Government of India shouldering a large share of the cost of reconstruction which enabled the local Government to meet their share of the cost by borrowing. Other factors contributing to the improvement were local Government's share of jute export duty (Rs. 11 and one-fourth lakhs), increase in excise (Rs. 7 lakhs) and forest revenue (13-4 lakhs) and savings in expenditure caused by the continuance of cut in pay (Rs. 8 and one-fourth lakhs) and postponement of elections to the provincial legislature (Rs. 4 lakhs). On the other side, there was a drop of other revenue (Rs. 4 lakhs) and increase in expenditure on account of earthquake (Rs. 3 and a half lakhs), on famine relief (Rs. 5 lakhs) and supplementary demands (Rs. 4 and a half lakhs).

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Finance secretary pointed out that it would be impossible to follow a general policy of giving preference to one class of contractors irrespective of financial considerations.

Sir *Ganesh Dutt*, Minister of Public Works, though accepting the resolution, stressed that on the execution works efficiency was the first thing and Biharis should try to gain more experience. The resolution as amended was carried.

#### EXCLUDED AREAS UNDER REFORM

The discussion centred round a resolution moved by the aboriginal member, Mr. *Durbendranath Samanta*, urging that necessary steps be taken so that no part of Chota Nagpur division be declared an excluded area in the forthcoming constitutional reforms. Several non-official members, including Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, leader of the Opposition, supported the resolution.

The mover and the supporters pointed out that Chota Nagpur had made a remarkable advance in recent years and contended that there was no justification in classing it as a partially excluded area and continuing the stigma of inferiority on them.

*Pandit Govtavari Misra* moved an amendment to include Sambalpur district in the scope of the resolution.

The hon. Mr. *Hubbick*, opposing the resolution on behalf of the Government, showed that there was a constitutional problem arising out of the presence of a large aboriginal population in the province. If the Government of India Bill were passed in law, as it stood, the districts of Chota Nagpur and Sambalpur at the inception of the new constitution would be partially excluded areas. The aborigines would be well advised to accept the substance of special attention which the Governor would be required to give to their problems, even at the cost of a temporary slight to their feelings. The advance made in education during the last decade gave every hope that before long the aborigines would be able to share to the full the political advance that the Government of India Bill opened up. Even as partially excluded areas they would share much more fully than they did now under the present constitution. The resolution as amended was carried, the Government opposing it.

#### TEACHING OF BIOLOGY IN COLLEGES

**19th. FEBRUARY:**—In the Council to-day several non-official members supported Mr. *Hasan Jan's* resolution for providing the teaching of biology up to the B. Sc. standard in any college of the province.

Mr. *Syed Abdul Aziz*, Minister of Education, expressing sympathy with the resolution pointed out that financial stringency stood in the way of giving effect to the demand and assured the Council that as soon as funds were available Government would take steps to provide such a teaching. The resolution was withdrawn.

Mr. *Jugannath Das's* resolution demanding action to prevent agricultural holdings remaining fallow was withdrawn after discussion, the Government asking the mover and the supporters to indicate a definite scheme in that direction.

Rai Bahadur *Lakshmidhar Mihanti's* resolution for the installation of a system of water-works at Cuttack town was rejected without a division, the Government stating that until the financial position of the Cuttack municipality was firmly established, no such scheme of water supply would be considered in view of the heavy expenditure involved.

#### RECRUITMENT TO PROVINCIAL SERVICES

Mr. *Abdul Ghani* urged the Government to consider the resolution passed by the Council regarding the introduction of a competitive examination by compartments for recruitment to the provincial services with a view to giving effect to it.

The Government replied that it would be advisable to let the matter wait till the new constitution was brought into force as the examination system was proposed in the new Government of India Bill as an instrument for recruitment to the services of the province through a public commission.

The resolution was under discussion when the Council adjourned.

#### RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT

**20th. FEBRUARY:**—Mr. *Abdul Ghani's* resolution urging the introduction of competitive examination by compartments for recruitment to provincial services was rejected after further discussion by 31 to 29 votes.

A long discussion then ensued on the resolution of Mr. *Mahomed Shafi* demanding the appointment of a committee to devise ways and means to relieve unemployment in the province. Several non-official members including Messrs. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, *Dwarakanath* and *M. Yunus* supported the resolution, the last speaker indicating the lines of approaching the problem.

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lation were not the only considerations for giving more seats to Orissa but there was the financial aspect of the question also.

The Hon. Mr. *Hubback*, on behalf of the Government, announced that the Government would appoint two committees, one for Bihar and the other for Orissa early in April next, to deal with the question of delimitation of constituencies and other connected matters and the suggestions made on the floor of the House and outside would be carefully considered by the committees.

Mr. *Abdul Ghani*, under a token cut motion, asked the Government to encourage the local vernacular papers by subscribing and giving them advertisements.

Mr. *Russell*, Chief Secretary, replied that the Government had afforded facilities in the matter of supplying Government publications and communiques to well-established and circulated newspapers, but they could not agree to purchasing copies of all vernacular papers.

Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, leader of the Opposition, opined that the demand that the Government should purchase newspapers and give them advertisements, would amount practically to subsidising newspapers and that would mean demoralizing the press. The cut motion was ultimately withdrawn.

**7th. MARCH:**—A comedy was enacted in the Council to-day when Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, leader of the Opposition, had to walk in the same lobby with the Government and vote against his own motion. This happened when Mr. Sinha moved a token cut on Board of Revenue charges under the head General Administration to call the attention of the Government to the exclusion of Indians from the higher offices of the court of wards and the medical treatment of the Maharani Sahiba of Bettiah. After the hon Mr. *Hubback*, on behalf of the Government, replied that the Government had appointed the best men available, whether Indians or Europeans, and the question of medical treatment of the Maharani was receiving the consideration of the Government, the token cut motion was passed to a division and while opinion was collected by voices. Mr. Sinha shouted: 'Noes have it'. Thereupon the President ruled that according to the constitution Mr. Sinha had to vote with noes. However, the Government suffered their first defeat and Mr. Sinha's cut motion was carried by 39 votes to 28.

Bihar for Biharis was the demand urged by Mr. *Abdul Ghani* and Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, who complained under a token cut that in the Civil Secretariat the claims of Biharis for appointments were ignored. The Government policy was defended by the hon. Mr. *Nirsu Narayan Sinha* who stated that preference was being given in all appointments to Biharis, to whatever castes and communities they belonged and there was no departure in the policy. The cut motion was withdrawn.

**8th. MARCH:**—Under a token cut for the provision of the High Court, Mr. *Nanda Kumar Ghosh* raised the question of the appointment of an Oriya to the post of High Court judge. He was supported by Mr. *Sachchidananda Sinha*, leader of the Opposition and the Oriya members, who urged when Orissa was being created a separate province and its judicial destinies would be controlled by the Patna High Court, it was desirable that an Oriya should be appointed a Judge of the High Court.

The Government replied that the question of appointment of High Court Judges was not within the sphere of the local Government and the policy of the Government was to appoint persons of merit irrespective of communal consideration. The cut motion was withdrawn.

Rai Bahadur *Shyamnandan Sahay*, under a token cut, called attention to the position of the Bihari Hindus in the matter of appointment of Government pleaders and complained that the claims of Bihari Hindus were not adequately met. He was supported by other non-official members.

The hon. Mr. *Nirsu Narayan Sinha* on behalf of the Government assured the Council that the subject was under consideration and the efficiency and claims of Bihari Hindus were being fully considered. The cut motion was withdrawn.

**9th. MARCH:**—Mr. *Radha Prasad Sinha*, moving a omission in the provision of the railway police, urged that the railway expenditure should be a charge on central revenues instead of on provincial revenues.

Mr. *Russell*, Chief Secretary on behalf of the Government, referred to the clause in the Government of India Bill, regarding the obligation of the federal railway authority in the matter of defraying the expenses for the police and the maintenance of order on railway premises and added that the local Government would satisfy itself what the intention of the clause was. The motion was withdrawn.

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Mr. J. Thomas, a member from the European constituency, thought that every modern Government should have a Publicity department through whose agency they could defend their policy and make their activities known to the people.

Mr. Chandreshwar Prasad Narayan Sinha, while favouring the establishment of the department, thought that the Government should have taken the opportunity at the time of the introduction of the budget to explain the policy underlying the new department and defending the establishment of the department.

On behalf of the Government Mr. Russell, chief secretary, said that the decision regarding the creation of the department was not taken until after the conclusion of the Ranchi session of the Council on the impending publication of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report and therefore it was not possible to bring the matter before the Council earlier. The reasons underlying the creation of the department were, firstly, the country was on the eve of far-reaching constitutional reforms which were the subject of discussion throughout the land. In order that the public might be in a position to understand what the reforms meant and from its opinion on them it was necessary that the public should be able to hear both sides of the question and the Publicity department would seek to explain the meaning of the reforms to remove misapprehensions and to answer criticisms; secondly, the Government had long felt the need of a publicity officer to support the nation-building and economic activities of the Government by disseminating information about the work the Government had done and are doing in that sphere.

The hon. Babu Nirsu Narayan Sinha, leader of the House, said that the Government decision for establishing the department showed that they paid a great tribute to public opinion in the province and particularly in this country when the Government were not a party Government and had not a press of their own, they must have a department to answer the criticism levelled against them and explain their policy and activities to the people. The cut motion was withdrawn.

#### BIHAR TENANCY AMEND. BILL

**26th. MARCH :—**The Council voted to-day the remaining Government supplementary demands for grants including Rs. 2,050 for a provincial marketing scheme and Rs. 16,00,000 as direct loan to the provincial Co-operative Bank, to provide a long term capital to the cooperative movement. The marketing scheme is designed to carry out a detailed survey of the marketing of agricultural produce in the province and involves the appointment of four marketing officers. Out of the contribution received from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research the scheme will be spread over a period of five years and the contribution from the Imperial Council will approximately total Rs. 1,00,000 during the period. The supplementary demand is intended to cover the current year's expenditure which will be balanced from the Imperial Agricultural Council's contribution.

On the motion of Mr. Hubbuck the House took into consideration the Bihar Tenancy (Amendment) Bill as reported by the select committee. The Bill aims at introducing special provisions for the protection of aborigines. in the first instance, in the Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts, by imposing restrictions on the alienation of land by aborigines and to prevent its passing into the hands of money-lenders, and follows the lines of the Bengal Act which has already given protection to Santals in the Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapur districts of Bengal and seeks to remove the spirit of unrest which has been prevalent for sometime among areas in the province.

Amendments moved by Babu Kalyan Singh and Rai Bahadur Shyamnandan Sahay were either withdrawn or rejected after discussion.

**27th. APRIL :—**The Council was prorogued to-day after having passed the Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill, and the *Bihar and Orissa Local Self-Government Amendment* and *Municipal Amendment Bills*, two non-official measures sponsored by Mr. S. M. Hafeez in order to extend the term of life of the district boards and municipalities in the province from three to five years so as to conduct efficient administration of these bodies and bring them into line in the matter of their term with the new provincial and central legislatures.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha and other Opposition members did not favour the *Local Self-Government* and *Municipal Amendment Bills*, while a majority of other non-official members and the Government lent their support to the measures.

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Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha and other Opposition members did not favour the *Local Self-Government* and *Municipal Amendment Bills*, while a majority of other non-official members and the Government lent their support to the measures.

Dealing with the problem of giving relief to agriculturists from the burden of debt, the Governor said that results of the working of the Debt Conciliation Boards and the Usurious Loans Act were most satisfactory, considering the fact that such legislation was entirely a new experiment. The Government, after considering the various proposals, decided to create land mortgage banks in order to enable the agriculturist to pay his debts. Coming to the problem of prevention of debts, the Governor thought there was no hope of a permanent cure, until there was a revolution in the countryside and a radical alteration in social customs. He hoped that they would devote ever-increasing attention to the welfare of those who till the land which was the real source of the wealth of the province.

Speaking on the constitutional reforms proposals, Sir Hyde Gowan characterized all arguments against the system of indirect election as somewhat theoretical and academic, and opined that it was difficult to final anyone of them which out-weigh the plain blunt fact emphasized in the report.

Referring to the franchise, his Excellency referred to the promised enfranchisement of some 21 million men and five and half million women who had no political rights up till then. 'I would ask you all not to allow your perfectly legitimate desire for the extension of your own political liberty to make you forget these million of your fellow-citizens to whom the passing of the Act will mean the dawn of political freedom and responsibility'.

Proceeding, his Excellency said that the central Government authority over the provinces would cease in all ordinary matters of administration and the whole executive power and authority of the province would be vested constitutionally in the Governor himself as a representative of the King and in practice with certain safeguards in the Council of Ministers. 'Now I suggest to you that even if the form of provincial government were to remain as it is now, this one change alone would make a large advance towards that solid and tangible goal, the power to manage your own provincial affairs in your own way. And when I add that the present Executive Council is to be removed and all departments are to be placed in charge of responsible Ministers upon whose advice the Governor will act in all ordinary circumstances, I make a further suggestion that for all practical purposes your goal will have been attained.'

Referring to the Governor's special powers, his Excellency said: 'Every one of these safeguards is devised to protect some vital interest of the State, and if that interest is imperilled no sensible man would deny that there must be some means of saving it from being wrecked. But if our affairs are so conducted that no such peril arise, safeguards will never be used and to fear them is to be affrighted by a bogey. To those who say they would prefer to remain under the present Act, I would make one further observation. I can assure them that even if these safeguards were employed regularly and to the full, they would provide the so-called irresponsible element in the Government—an element which has never exercised its influence except on the side of sanity and moderation—with not one tithe of the power over the whole field of administration that it possesses at present either directly or indirectly, by its control of finance or in its capacity as agent of the central Government. So long as no grave menace arise to peace and tranquillity of the province, so long as justice is done to the weaker communities who cannot protect themselves, so long as the mistake is not made of shaking the confidence and impairing the efficiency of the public services by unfair treatment, so long as discrimination is not exercised against those who have laid the foundations of India's commercial prosperity and non-Indian traders are treated with the same impartiality as Indian traders are claiming for themselves in Burma, so long as due obedience is rendered to the orders of the Government in general in matters in which general interests are at stake, so long will the special powers of the Governor remain inoperative and the sword, of which so much fear has been expressed, will be allowed to rust peacefully in its scabbard'.

Proceeding his Excellency said: A Government of five, in which all the essential departments of Finance, Revenue and Law and Order are in the portfolios of persons who are not responsible to you for the manner in which they discharge their duties, will give place to a Government in which the Minister in charge of every department must render his account to you. The Governor will have certain real and definite power of intervention but in a strictly limited field, while in the rest of the field he will be guided in all ordinary circumstances by the advice of his Ministers. And here I wish to press one point home with all the emphasis of which I am capable. If we are to judge by what we have heard and read recently, there are some people who picture the future Governor at the worst as a sort of Frankenstein's monester, who will bestride the stage, browbeating the ministers and defying the legislature and trampling

Dealing with the problem of giving relief to agriculturists from the burden of debt, the Governor said that results of the working of the Debt Conciliation Boards and the Usurious Loans Act were most satisfactory, considering the fact that such legislation was entirely a new experiment. The Government, after considering the various proposals, decided to create land mortgage banks in order to enable the agriculturist to pay his debts. Coming to the problem of prevention of debts, the Governor thought there was no hope of a permanent cure, until there was a revolution in the countryside and a radical alteration in social customs. He hoped that they would devote ever-increasing attention to the welfare of those who till the land which was the real source of the wealth of the province.

Speaking on the constitutional reforms proposals, Sir Hyde Gowan characterized all arguments against the system of indirect election as somewhat theoretical and academic, and opined that it was difficult to find anyone of them which out-weigh the plain blunt fact emphasized in the report.

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Mr. Parakh before justifying his action raised a point of order questioning the legality of the point of order raised by the leader of the House. He said according to Parliamentary practice as outlined in Sir Thomas Maine's Parliamentary Practice either to decide whether there had been a breach of privilege or to expunge portions of certain speeches or a note of dissent did not rest with the President. In the former case it rested with the committee of privileges of the House and in the latter with the house itself.

Continuing Mr. Parakh referred to the recent incident in the House of Commons when similar charges were brought in by Mr. Churchill against Sir Samuel Hoare and the subsequent reference of the question to a committee of privileges. Mr. Parakh further felt that what the Government wanted was not the Chair's ruling but stifling the Opposition's expression of views.

Giving his ruling to Mr. Parakh's preliminary objection, the President conceded Mr. Parakh's point that the House alone could expunge the proceedings if it considered that such a course was necessary. He was aware, he said, of the practices and conventions of the British Parliament, but pointed out that the procedure adopted in the Indian legislatures was not an exact parallel of the British procedure as the question of observance of discipline by members in India was exclusively a matter within the domain of the President. He, therefore, disallowed the objection.

Mr. Parakh then rose to reply to the charges levelled against him. Mr. Parakh contended that the select committee's report was not a faithful record of the proceedings as the fact that his resolutions were rejected was not a faithful record was not mentioned therein. It was not open to the select committee to review its decision once arrived at which in fact had been done and his motion that the taxes of private cars should be fixed at Rs. 25 annually which had been carried was annulled at a subsequent meeting by the casting vote of the chairman (Mr. Raghavendra Rao).

Mr. Parakh next contended that the fears expressed by the leader of the House postulated that Government wanted members to have two opinions, one for the electorate and the other for Government. Mr. Parakh next spoke on the effect of the President's rulings on posterity when the President reminded him he was not addressing a public meeting.

The President then gave his ruling upholding the point of order raised by the leader of the House. It was his definite opinion, he said, that the evidence tendered in the select committee could not be disclosed in view of the fact that they were of an informal nature. Further nothing was final until the committee had submitted its report to the Council as the select committee was entitled to view any particular proposal in a different light at any time and modify its decision at any stage of its proceedings. In this connection he cited five rulings, two by Sir Frederick Whyte and three by the late Mr. V. J. Patel directing that these deliberations should not be divulged. The President accordingly held Mr. Parakh guilty of a breach of privileges of the House and further upheld the decision of the chairman of the select committee in ruling Mr. Parakh's resolutions out of order as his amendments were beyond the scope of the select committee.

#### OFFICIAL BILL

**29th. JANUARY:**—A large number of teachers of the Wardha district council, at present on strike, staged a peaceful demonstration close to the council hall gate just before the Council resumed its sitting to-day with the object of ventilating their grievances. Later, after the strikers had withdrawn in the open area near the chamber, it was again a scene of another demonstration by about 1,500 peasants from Betul district who urged the establishment of debt conciliation boards.

The Council disposed of official business and referred five bills to select committees. The *C. P. Tenancy Amendment Act Bill* was enacted into law on the motion of Mr. N. J. Roughton, Revenue Member. Two Bills, introduced by Raz Bahadur K. S. Nayudu, Minister of Local Self-Government, sought to confer power on the Government to enforce orders in the case of dismissed employees of the municipalities and local bodies.

The netting of birds and animals is to be penalized according to the provisions of the *Wild Birds and Animals Protection Bill* which was modelled on a similar Act in the United Provinces while the *C. P. Bank Bill* is designed to afford protection to the same and stipulated licenses obligatory for sportsmen providing revenue. These two measures were introduced by the Home Member, Mr. E. R. Rao.

The House then adjourned.

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The House then adjourned.

*Mr. C. B. Parakh* dwelt on the defence problem of India and emphasised the need of rapid Indianisation of the army. Characterising the J. P. C. proposals as highly unsatisfactory and falling short of the Indian demand, the speaker supported the summoning of a constituent assembly with a view to forming a suitable constitution. As regards the financial aspect of the committee's proposals, *Mr. Parakh* opined that imperial preference was writ large on the recommendations and said that what England had given with one hand she had taken away more freely with the other.

*Dr. P. S. Deshmukh* deplored the absence of the term 'Dominion Status' in the proposals and urged a specific declaration of India's goal to this effect in the India Bill. Unless this demand was conceded the new constitution would not be acceptable to the people.

*Mr. T. I. Kedar* favoured the total rejection of the proposals as the recent elections had made it clear that the electorate was predominantly Congress-minded, while *Mr. S. M. Rahman* declared that there was no sense in the talk of rejection of the constitution. Even the conservative Moslems, he said, considered the recommendations unsatisfactory, but there was no reason why they should not work the reforms and agitate for more.

The *Rev. Rodgers* paid a tribute to the Joint Select Committee members for their labours and appealed to all to work the new constitution in a spirit of good-will and sincerity in the interests of ordered freedom and social justice.

*Mr. G. A. Gavai* (depressed classes) expressed gratitude to the British Government for conceding adequate representation to his community in the legislatures and for all their efforts to uplift the depressed classes in the country.

*Seth Sheolal* urged that provision should be made in the constitution that there should be no legislative interference in the social and religious customs of the people.

*Mrs. Ramabai Tambe* (nominated) expressed appreciation of the J. P. C. for the recognition of women's importance in the political life of India by conceding a wider franchise of women, but protested against the introduction of the communal element in electorates despite opposition by all women's organizations in India.

*Khan Bahadur Mirza Rahman Beg*, accepting the reform proposals, declared that they must work the reforms in order to prove their capacity for further advance.

The House at this stage agreed to the closure of the debate, when the Home Member, *Mr. E. R. Rao*, Leader of the House, speaking on behalf of the Government, vigorously defended the reform proposals. The Home Member declared that the federal scheme as had been evolved by the J. P. C. would shine in future as a guiding star pointing the way to the attainment of that real democratic state without the catastrophes of a general national breakdown. It was necessary that, along with creating autonomous provinces, they should have a strong centre and any course which led to its stability was to be closely examined and accepted. Proceeding, he said:—'My own view of the future of provincial autonomy of this province is that if the future ministers were resolute men determined to assert their constitutional powers, administer justice, uphold the rule of law, shoulder the responsibility for additional taxation and show respect to the canons of public finance and are supported by a strong and disinterested legislature and an honest Opposition, there is no reason to believe that the provincial autonomy even as is envisaged by the most advanced political parties in India would not be attained within the next few years. The Home Member, continuing, asked the people of India to determine their attitude towards the British Empire and pointed out that even Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged and admired one of the ideals of the British Empire, namely, every subject of the Empire had the freest scope for his energies and honour and whatever he thought was due to his conscience. The speaker thought that this was true of the British Empire as it was not true of any Government. The deficiency of the proposed constitutional reforms was not too high a price to pay to stand firmly by their anchorage. The Home Member, concluding, declared that the constitution may not give all that the people of India aspired to but it was a great advance over the present constitution as it gave the widest representation to all classes of people. The Council then adjourned till the 25th February.

#### FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1935-36

**25th. FEBRUARY:**—*Mr. N. J. Roughton*, Finance Member introduced the budget to-day. The revised estimates for 1934-35 show a deficit of 11.04 lakhs as against the originally estimated surplus of Rs. 2.19 lakhs. The revenue position had deteriorated, the principal decreases in income receipts being under land revenue (Rs. 10.77 lakhs) and stamps (Rs. 4.38 lakhs). The Budget, as originally framed, provided for receipts

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*Reverend Rogers* appealed to the Government to consider the desirability of imposing an entertainment tax in the province for increasing the grants towards education, while *Seth Sheolal* deplored that the Government were imposing fresh taxation on the eve of the Silver Jubilee celebrations.

Replying to the criticism levelled against the Government in regard to the restoration of salary cuts, *Mr. C. Deshmukh*, Financial Secretary, asked whether it would not be honourable to adhere to the contract entered into with the public servants. He also denied the suggestion that the Government's revenue receipts and estimates were exaggerated.

The Hon'ble *Mr. N. J. Roughton*, Finance Member, who spoke next categorically denied the suggestion that the Government had restored the salary cuts with the intention of handing over a bankrupt state to Indians in the next constitution. He appealed to the House not to create an anomalous position by pressing the reimposition of the cuts, as certain services were beyond their scope and felt that the House could appropriately express its disapproval in the form of a token cut. He reiterated the Government sympathy towards the agriculturists by pointing out to the various relief measures undertaken and the utmost economy in the expenditure observed.

#### VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

**28th. FEBRUARY:**—In the Council to-day *Mr. K. P. Pande* withdrew his cut motion which was discussed throughout yesterday in view of the Excise Minister *Rai Bahadur Nayudu*'s assurance to accept the proposal suggesting the appointment of a committee to go through the question of excise policy.

On the motion of *Rai Bahadur G. P. Jaiswal*, the House carried without a division the Re. 1 cut as a protest against the decision of the Government to restore the salary cuts.

Non-officials were defeated three times in their attempt to censure the Ministers' policy in not restoring the cuts in the educational grants to the local bodies and not nominating members of the depressed classes and women to the local bodies.

The entire demand under the head "General Administration" (Transferred) for Rs. 64,000 was then carried.

*Khan Sahib Muzaffar Hussain*, Deputy President, moved a Re.1 cut in the demand of administration of justice and demanded the establishment of Debt Conciliation Boards in every Taluk throughout the province.

Various sections of the House expressed support to the demand.

The speakers emphasised the sad plight of the peasantry owing to heavy indebtedness and urged the Government to come to their rescue by agreeing to the suggested course.

*Mr. N. G. Roughton*, Finance Member, while expressing sympathy with the proposal, complained about the paucity of men who could act as honorary chairmen on these Boards, suitable and diligent men who desired to devote themselves to the needs of the country-side. He further pointed out that the Government had already established seven Boards and proposed to start four more in the near future. He urged the withdrawal of the motion, which was carried without a division, the Government not opposing it.

**2nd. MARCH:**—Better supervision by the police force in the province with a view to preventing motor accidents which were lately marked by an increase, was urged by *Rao Shab U. S. Patil*, who moved a token cut to-day, when the demand under the head 'police' came up for discussion.

As regards the suggestions put forth in the course of the debate, the Home Member *Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao* promised to consider the same at the time of revising the rules for regulating traffic, upon which the motion was withdrawn.

The House adopted *Mr. Deshmukh*'s motion protesting against the action of the Judicial Commissioner in not closing courts for a day, as a mark of respect to the memory of *Mr. M. V. Abhyanker*.

The Home Member, *Mr. E. R. Rao*, objected to the motion on the ground that the subject was very stale. Further the House was not entitled to discuss the conduct of a judicial officer acting in the judicial discharge of his duties. The motion was also calculated to cast reflection on the Judicial Commissioner.

The President, *Mr. S. W. A. Rizvi* allowed the motion as it was in perfect order and related to administrative functions of the Judicial Commissioner.

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of the Act of 1870 and in view of the vast changes in the judicial system in the province, reforms in the matter of levying fees were necessary. If the province wanted a High Court, the cost thereof should not be thrust on the general tax-payers, but on those who were likely to benefit by the proposed reforms, namely, the litigant public.

Proceeding, he said that the present Bill was in accord with the wishes of the House which during the previous session urged the Government to establish a High Court in the province. He hoped that the members would support the Bill, since the House had already committed itself in principle.

*Mr. D. T. Mangalmurti* moved an amendment that the Bill be referred for eliciting public opinion.

The House having devoted the whole day for the discussion, the amendment was put to vote and negatived, 36 voting for and 19 against, resulting in a Government victory.

A feature of the debate was the strong opposition by several non-official members to the Bill. While opinion was unanimous favouring a High Court, criticism was directed against the imposition of fresh taxation in the form of funds necessary for this purpose.

*Mr. T. J. Kedar*, Leader of the Opposition, supported the Bill in principle, but agreed to the motion for circulation to consider the various details of the measure.

*Dr. P. S. Deshmukh* favoured the complete rejection of the Bill which, he said, had been brought at an inopportune time. He preferred to wait till the passing of the new Constitution Act.

*Khan Saheb Mazaffar Hussain*, Deputy President, declared that it was the duty of the Government to make the administration of justice as cheap as possible. On the contrary, the Bill was brought to enhance the court fees.

*Mr. W. R. Puranik*, Government Advocate, made it clear that legislation was long overdue and was aimed at removing the anomalies in the law so as to bring this province into line with other provinces.

Replying to the debate, the Home Member, *Mr. Rao* pointed out that the Bill was sought to set right inequalities in taxation and assured that its clauses would not hurt the poorer class of litigants. The measure was designed to restrict litigation. As a result of the local Government's representations, the Secretary of State for India had agreed to the constitution of a High Court in the Province, the Judge of which would receive emoluments lower than elsewhere in India.

**8th. MARCH :—**In the Council to-day, *Mr. R. A. Kanitkar*, moved that the C. P. Court Fees Amendment Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

The Home Member, *Mr. E. R. Rao*, said that the Government was opposed to the motion, but in view of the opinions expressed in the House would agree to it. He added that the consideration of the Bill should be finished before the end of the present financial year.

The House accepted the Select Committee motion and adjourned till March 25.

**25th. MARCH :—**After a debate lasting nearly six hours, the Council passed the Court Fees C. P. Amendment Bill, a Government measure, into law.

The Bill was introduced in the Council on March 7 last by the Hon'ble Mr. *Raghavendra Rao*, Home Member, and evoked much opposition from non-official benches, as it involved taxation proposals for the establishment of a High Court in the Province. The Bill underwent important changes in the Select Committee stage in that the incidence of taxation was reduced from Rs. three and a half to Rs. 2 lakhs which constituted the funds essential for the establishment of a High Court.

When business in the House was resumed to-day, the Home Member presented the report of the Select Committee and urged that the Bill be taken into consideration.

*Mr. D. T. Mangalmurthi* attacked the Bill and pleaded for the inability of the Province to sustain fresh taxation.

He was supported by *Dr. Punjab Rao Deshmukh*, while *Mr. W. R. Puranik*, Government Advocate, pointed out that the principle of raising the status of the province by establishing a High Court had already been accepted.

*Mr. S. M. Rahman*, supported the Home Member's motion which was carried by 38 votes to 19.

Among those who supported the Government were *Mr. T. J. Kedar* (Leader of the Opposition) and 19 elected non-officials.

of the Act of 1870 and in view of the vast changes in the judicial system in the province, reforms in the matter of levying fees were necessary. If the province wanted a High Court, the cost thereof should not be thrust on the general tax-payers, but on those who were likely to benefit by the proposed reforms, namely, the litigant public.

Proceeding, he said that the present Bill was in accord with the wishes of the House which during the previous session urged the Government to establish a High Court in the province. He hoped that the members would support the Bill, since the House had already committed itself in principle.

*Mr. D. T. Mangalmurti* moved an amendment that the Bill be referred for eliciting public opinion.

The House having devoted the whole day for the discussion, the amendment was put to vote and negatived, 36 voting for and 19 against, resulting in a Government victory.

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The average income from Excise since 1927-28 has been 105 lakhs, the revised estimate for the current year is 98 and one-third lakhs. We may hope for 99 lakhs in the coming year.

The revised estimate for the current year from Stamps is 107 lakhs, we expect a slight increase to 110 lakhs next year.

Irrigation accounts for roughly 332 lakhs of expenditure, but although Education Department comes next with a total expenditure of 160 lakhs it actually takes the lion's share because Irrigation also produces revenue.

As regards the present year, the Finance Member said : The budget estimate of the present year anticipated a surplus of 51 lakhs, but, so far as can be seen, the surplus will be 20 lakhs less. This is not due to any excess of optimism on the part of the Finance Department, but to the fact that after the budget was framed the Government decided to reduce water-rates by an amount that in a normal year would cause a drop of 36 and a half lakhs in this source of revenue. At the same time special remissions of revenue amounting to over 20 lakhs have been granted whereas only 15 lakhs of special remissions were anticipated.

Half a lakh has been provided for the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of Their Majesties' reign, of Rs. 30,000 for Jubilee scholarships and of 3 lakhs for the new Council Chamber.

The position with regard to the Sutlej Valley project is as follows :

The cumulative interest is 4.51 crores. The cumulative net revenue is 2.03 crores, and the resulting sum at charge is 11.72 crores. The position ten years hence may probably be as follows : cumulative capital 9.01, cumulative interest 9.89, cumulative net revenue 7.51, sum at charge 11.39 crores. In the year 1944-45 the project will be paying 5.3 per cent., as against about 3.8 per cent. at present, and it is calculated to pay 6 per cent. in the year 1945-47. In 1934-35 we hope to assess 12.8 lakhs of acres irrigated, and in 1944-45 we hope to assess 13.61 lakhs, a comparatively small rise owing to the fact that the water available at the sowing season is limited.

The other great project of the Province about which the Council will desire to be informed is the Hydro-Electric Scheme. This scheme has cost 626 lakhs, of which 42 lakhs represent expenditure on local distribution. To this sum of 626 lakhs we have to add the enormous sum of 123 lakhs as accumulated interest charges, so that the total capital expenditure charges against the scheme comes to 749 lakhs.

**28th. FEBRUARY :—**Charges of apathy, respecting nation-building activities, were levelled against the Government by several speakers during the general discussion on the budget, which commenced in the Council to-day. Several speakers congratulated the Finance Member on his presenting a balanced budget, and supported the restoration of the pay cut but stressed that the province was far from being prosperous, the people were groaning under taxation and well planned schemes to improve the basic condition of the people was urgently needed.

*Shaikh Mohammad Sadiq* and *Mr. Nanakchand Pandit* vehemently criticized the Government and its irresponsiveness to public opinion, and the almost total neglect of national development. Mr. Sadiq contrasted with what other free countries were doing with their budgets, apart from maintaining *status quo* and peace and order, and Mr. Pandit said : "This would not be tolerated for a single day in any free country". Mr. Pandit maintained that although they had had reforms for the last 14 years with their own Ministers, there was practically no progress for which the people could be thankful and the same old system and outlook persisted. He said that their Ministers had failed to do their duty which was to bring combined pressure on the Government to initiate beneficial schemes to ameliorate unemployment and to develop small industries, but they had only served to keep the people quiet.

*Choudhry Choturam*, leader of the Opposition, initiating the debate, congratulated the Finance Member on presenting a balanced budget, which was, he said, not an easy thing in these days of depression. He, however, complained that the benevolent departments were being starved which was the last thing the Government should do. He advocated the imposition of fresh taxes. (He was the only member to make this suggestion)—on the urban population. Maintaining that the people in towns got away with the least burden of taxation, Chaudhry Choturam suggested to taxes on cinemas, bicycles and aerated waters.

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During debates on the grants under Hydro-electric schemes when the question of communal representation in this branch of the service was raised, Mr. H. P. Thomas, Chief Engineer, said that Muslims in this branch were over forty per cent., although they evinced a peculiar ineptitude for the electrical line. In some cases, he added, the present incumbents were maintained in their positions not because of their efficiency but because they were Muslims.

Only one cut was carried to-day, namely, that of Re. 1 in the P. W. D. Buildings grant to urge the employment of agriculturists.

**8th. MARCH:**—The Punjab Government's programme of road development was explained by the Minister of Agriculture during the debate on the motion for grant of Rs. 78 lakhs under head Civil Works (Transferred) to which Khan Bahudur Nawab Mian Muhammed Hyat Qureshi moved a cut of Re. 1 to urge "fairer distribution of expenditure on communications."

The Minister, replying, referred to the recent deliberations of the Rail Road Conference and the Government's survey of the problem and said that the Government of India was taking keenest interest on this question. The Central Government had asked his Department to chalk out the programme of laying out good roads to link up villages with the cities and Government were working out the road classification scheme with the object of improving the net work of roads and filling the gaps. He mentioned that in the last six years 1,000 miles of new metalled roads had been added throughout the province and the progress of the scheme was so well maintained that he expected it to be completed in the next three or four years.

A proud reference was made by the ex-Minister Manohar Lal to the fact that the Punjab possessed the biggest public library in India compared to which the Imperial Library at Calcutta came nowhere in the course of a cut motion urging better housing and bigger grant thereto. Next to that came the Baroda Library, but the Lahore library sadly lacked adequate Government patronage.

Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Minister for Education, expressed deep sympathy with the demand, but pointed out that there were other and far more urgent demands for funds in his Department. For example, he had seen with his own eyes the veritable black holes in so-called girls' schools in Lahore, where in one case he was presented with the spectacle of 110 girls crammed in a room 14 feet by 14.

Incredulous murmur led the Minister to offer to take a member to that place, but he warned that seeing such a sight might induce homicidal thoughts against those who were keeping girls under such conditions, wherein you would not keep dogs.

The cut was withdrawn, after the Minister had promised to do what he could.

During question-hour, the Finance Member placed the land settlement on the table showing that in the last three years in the two districts of Hoshiarpur and Jullunder 85 cases of kidnapping of girls occurred. Of those, all except one were minors.

Replying to a question by Mr. Chaudhry Afjal Huq, Mr. Boyd, Finance Member, said that ten communities had been restricted under section 3 (1) (d) of the Punjab Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Mr. Afjal Huq asked why the communities were so restricted unless they happened to be terrorists.

Mr. Boyd : Because if unrestricted they were likely to act in a manner prejudicial to public peace and safety.

Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Minister for Education, in replying to Chaudhry Mahomed Abdul Rehman Khan, wished the member would have tried to ascertain the truth before raising the matter. The question related to the award of nine science scholarships recently created under Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar's munificent transfer to the Punjab University of a gift of a lakh and half made to him personally in which the questioner had suggested that not one thereof would finally go to a Muslim.

Sir F. K. Noon said : "Perhaps the hon. member is referring to the Punjab Chemical Research Fund which is maintained and financed by private donations and administered by trustees. Neither the Government nor the University has any right to say how these scholarships would be awarded. It will interest the hon'ble member to know that ten scholarships were awarded last year. Only three Mussalmans applied, of which two were successful in securing, (1) Attock Oil Company's scholarship and (2) Prof. Bhatnagar's scholarship of Rs. 60 per month. I am sure the hon'ble member

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The Minister, replying, referred to the recent deliberations of the Rail Road Conference and the Government's survey of the problem and said that the Government of India was taking keenest interest on this question. The Central Government had asked his Department to chalk out the programme of laying out good roads to link up villages with the cities and Government were working out the road classification scheme with the object of improving the net work of roads and filling the gaps. He mentioned that in the last six years 1,000 miles of new metalled roads had been added throughout the province and the progress of the scheme was so well maintained that he expected it to be completed in the next three or four years.

A proud reference was made by the ex-Minister Manohar Lal to the fact that the Punjab possessed the biggest public library in India compared to which the Imperial Library at Calcutta came nowhere in the course of a cut motion urging better housing and bigger grant thereto. Next to that came the Baroda Library, but the Lahore library sadly lacked adequate Government patronage.

Sir *Feroze Khan Noon*, Minister for Education, expressed deep sympathy with the demand, but pointed out that there were other and far more urgent demands for funds in his Department. For example, he had seen with his own eyes the veritable black holes in so-called girls' schools in Lahore, where in one case he was presented with the spectacle of 110 girls crammed in a room 14 feet by 14.

Incredulous murmur led the Minister to offer to take a member to that place, but he warned that seeing such a sight might induce homicidal thoughts against those who were keeping girls under such conditions, wherein you would not keep dogs.

The cut was withdrawn, after the Minister had promised to do what he could.

During question-hour, the Finance Member placed the land settlement on the table showing that in the last three years in the two districts of Hoshiarpur and Jullunder 85 cases of kidnapping of girls occurred. Of those, all except one were minors.

Replying to a question by Mr. Chaudhry Afjal Huq, Mr. Boyd, Finance Member, said that ten communities had been restricted under section 3 (1) (d) of the Punjab Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Mr. *Afjal Huq* asked why the communities were so restricted unless they happened to be terrorists.

Mr. *Boyd*: Because if unrestricted they were likely to act in a manner prejudicial to public peace and safety.

Sir *Feroze Khan Noon*, Minister for Education, in replying to Chaudhry Mahomed Abdul Rehman Khan, wished the member would have tried to ascertain the truth before raising the matter. The question related to the award of nine science scholarships recently created under Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar's munificent transfer to the Punjab University of a gift of a lakh and half made to him personally in which the questioner had suggested that not one thereof would finally go to a Muslim.

Sir *F. K. Noon* said: "Perhaps the hon. member is referring to the Punjab Chemical Research Fund which is maintained and financed by private donations and administered by trustees. Neither the Government nor the University has any right to say how these scholarships would be awarded. It will interest the hon'ble member to know that ten scholarships were awarded last year. Only three Mussalmans [applied, of which two were successful in securing, (1) Attock Oil Company's scholarship and (2) Prof. Bhatnagar's scholarship of Rs. 60 per month. I am sure the hon'ble member

Replying to the debate which altogether spread for over three sittings, Sir Gokulchand Narang declared that the whole question was engaging the earnest attention of the Government and revealed the salient features of a draft Bill having for its object the encouragement of investment in industries for helping the existing enterprises and expediting industrial schemes generally. The Bill which Sir Gokulchand Narang announced would come up before the Council during the next session would provide for giving grants and subsidies to the new industries, grant of lands, Government assistance through the purchase of shares and expert advice, etc., and affording all possible facilities to enterprising industrialists to embark on schemes in new directions.

*Sir Gokulchand Narang* said that the Bill would propose that under certain conditions the Government should guarantee at least three per cent return on the money invested so as to bring out shy capital. He suggested to the House to persuade the Government to raise an industrial loan of a crore or two, because without industrial progress they could not dream of prosperity and unless they took the risk, development would be impossible.

All the five cuts including that urging the appointment of a Committee to draw up a five-year programme to develop village industries were passed, the Government not opposing.

**22nd. MARCH:**—After interpellations, the Council discussed the demand under head "Agriculture" including Co-operative Department.

*Mr. Joginder Singh*, Minister for Agriculture, replying to the debate referred to the frequent questions regarding communal representation in his department and said that he and his colleagues were willing to fix communal proportion and carry them out in all new recruitment in the transferred departments, if they received sanction of the Council. The first brick of the new constitution, he said, should be well and truly laid on the basis of common good-will and understanding. He suggested that the Hindus and Sikhs should accept the claims of Moslems for representation of their population and Moslems on the other hand, should join hands with the Hindu and Sikh brethren for making the constitution a success.

The demand was passed.

The demand for medical and public health was under discussion when guillotine was applied.

Due to lack of co-ordination on the part of non-official members, the Council was unable to discuss this year many important heads of expenditure including Police Judiciary, Jails, General Administration and Education as eight days allotted for demands for grants were spent in discussing secondary heads and on the guillotine being applied to-day at 5 p. m. the remaining 18 demands including the above mentioned demands were voted without a discussion.

#### RECOGNITION OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

**26th. MARCH:**—Strong criticism of the rules recently framed by the Government to regulate the recognition of private schools so as to eschew undesirable influences in the management, to protect the interests of the staff as well as of the pupils and to ensure financial stability was voiced in the Council to-day when a non-official resolution was discussed recommending modifications of rules and exemption from their application of those schools which were in existence already.

The rules make recognition conditional upon certain financial guarantees in respect of staff's salaries etc., and members of the management and staff, not engaging in agitation against the authority of the Government or dissemination of disloyal opinions or feelings of hatred between the different parties. Members including Mr. Nanakchand, Pandit Mukundlal Puri and Mr. Manoharlal, ex-Education Minister and two members of the Rural Unionist Party supported the resolution and opposed the officialisation of all schools.

Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Education Minister, defended the rules in the interests of students and masters alike and said that the rules were drawn up in consultation with the Standing Education Committee of House. The resolution was eventually withdrawn. The Council then adjourned.

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# Proceedings of the Council

BUDGET SESSION—RANGOON—14th. FEBRUARY to 8th. MARCH 1935

The budget session of the Burma Legislative Council commenced on the 14th. February in a depleted house. With the exception of a few nominated members and Independents and two Ministers in the officials block the whole opposition bloc remained unoccupied. All members, *U. Chit Hlaing's*, *Dr. Ba Maw's* and people's parties boycotted the House, it was stated, protesting against the President's continuance of office despite their unanimous request that the President should resign as a sequel to passing a no-confidence motion on him last session. They, however, held a discussion in the 'no' lobby and, it transpired, decided to boycott the House for the next day and day after, but most likely they would participate in the discussion of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, commencing from Feb. 18.

The 'No-confidence' motion on *U Ba Pe*, Forest Minister, fell through owing to the absence of all the three movers who asked for leave to move it.

## BUDGET FOR 1935-36

*Mr. T. Couper*, Finance Member, then presented the budget. According to the revised estimates for 1934-35, the incomings are Rs. 8,81,87,000. The anticipated shortcoming of Rs. 49,96,000 will be met by a loan from the Government of India. The budget forecast of revenue only in 1934-35 was Rs. 7,96,65,000. It is now hoped to collect Rs. 8,81,49,000. On the expenditure side there is a decrease of Rs. 22,39,000 of which Rs. 15 and a half lakhs is accounted for by a continued cut in pay. The total receipts in 1935-36 are estimated to be Rs. 8,36,85,000 and disbursements Rs. 9,16,92,000. To meet the deficit it will be necessary to obtain an advance of Rs. 93 lakhs from the Government of India. A revenue deficit of Rs. 93 lakhs and an increase of Rs. 72 lakhs in the provincial debts are the prominent points in this year's estimates. The rehabilitation of provincial finances, the Finance Member said, depended on the rise in prices or in finding new sources of revenue.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**15th. FEBRUARY** :—For the first time in the history of the Council general discussion on the budget finished to-day within one and half hours and the House adjourned until the next day. Only six speeches were made. The Independents and Burmese nominated members did not express their views, while all members of *U. Chit Hlaing's*, *Dr. Ba Maw's* and People's parties are continuing their Council boycott policy. *U. Tha Gyaw* (*Dr. Ba Maw's* party) who it would be remembered was suspended for a day by the President for creating disturbance in the Council during the last session entered and left the House without bowing to the Chair.

*Mr. R. T. Stoncham*, speaking on the budget, quoted the figures to show that there was a fall in prices in the teak trade instead of a rise; while *Mr. S. A. S. Tyabji* thought that revenue estimates had been guardedly framed and deplored that the effect of retrenchment as compared with 1933-34 was not appreciable and also not uniform in all Government departments.

*Mr. C. G. Woodhouse* declared that so far the financial settlement had gone against Burma and mentioned the non-refund by the Government of India of half of the rice export duty. He, therefore, expected that the Finance Member would put up strongly Burma's case to secure a favourable settlement.

*Mr. M. M. Elyan Chettiar* doubted whether separation would bring better financial results and opined that the Government should find new sources of revenue.

The *Finance Member* thought that the trend of prices of timber at present was on the upward and explained that if efficiency in revenue collection were to be maintained it would not be possible to effect retrenchment of more than 65 lakhs instead of 96 lakhs as recommended. Regarding the refund of rice export duty the Government had not succeeded despite correspondence with the Government of India. He assured the House that Burma's representatives on the financial committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India for financial settlements between India and separated Burma would certainly do their best for Burma.

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*Khan Bahadur Ahmed Chandoo* doubted at the outset whether any useful purpose would be served by discussing the report at present when Parliament had decided on the matter, but wanted to know from the leader of the House and financial experts how separation would act upon the progress of the country through rupees, annas and pies and how Burma would be able to repay the provincial debts. Opining that the India Bill did not cast the faintest shadow of home rule, Mr. Chandoo criticised the entry clause contained in section 340 of the Bill. He continued that when no restriction had been imposed upon the British minority why Indian entry should be restricted. This was unfair, unjust and unequitable. Further, it were Indians who had developed Burma's business and progress better than British compatriots. This clause would affect the Indian business community most. Therefore, it should be amended in a more general manner.

*Rai Bahadur R. K. Ghose*, strongly objecting the remarks made by the Joint Parliamentary Committee against the Chettalars and Indian labour, declared that it was a humiliation of the Indian nation as a whole that Indians should remain here at the sweet will of the legislature and demanded nothing but justice in view of the large contributions made by Indians.

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During the course of the debate *U. Saw* (People's party) read out a statement, declaring that as the parties no longer recognized Sir Oscar de Glanville as the elected President of the Council the People's party as a party would not take part in the discussions on the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. (*President : order, order*).

The statement explained that as the views of the People's party had already been fully expressed in the House and before the Joint Parliamentary Committee as well as in the resolution passed at the recent All-Burma Separationist Conference and that the Bill for Burma was now well on its committee stage, any discussion thereon or suggestions brought forward would not alter the main principle of the Bill and, therefore, consideration of the report would be useless and waste of time.

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*Mr. B. N. Das*, quoting facts and figures asserted that the Joint Parliamentary Committee deliberately behaved cruelly towards Indians with regard to entry, representation and franchise.

*Sir John Cherry*, viewing the recommendations generally, said that they embodied suitable steps towards responsible government and contended against the recommendation with regard to immigration of Indian labour and the power to be given to the legislature to restrict Indian entry. He thought that the Burmanization of the services should not be speeded out. Europeans were not satisfied with the proposals with regard to the legislature and franchise meted out to them as well as to other minority communities and strongly deprecated that the post of Chief Justice of the High Court should be thrown open to the Indian Civil Service.

Several anti-separationists recalling the history of the separation-federation issue, stressed that the country demanded federation.

*Mr. S. A. S. Tyabyi*, dealing with the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, adversely affecting Indian rights and interests as now embodied in the India Bill, strongly criticized section 340 with special reference to the proviso of sub-section 3 and sections 429 and 435. By this Bill Indians would be kept as hostages in Burma on behalf of Indians in India. It was through this Bill that India would be made to agree to a trade convention. He doubted whether the instrument of instructions to the Governor would secure protection for Indians. He regretted the inability of the Burma Government to safeguard Indian interests as had been done in the case of United Kingdom subjects.

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Several Burmese members of the three parties, supporting the motion, associated themselves with the mover's remark.

U. *Saw* pointed out that when the India Bill made no provision for the Governor's concurrence in the event of a removal motion on the President passed by the House, then if a motion of that nature was passed by the House presently it was enough justification for removing the President.

Sir *John Cherry*, on behalf of the Europeans, said that the removal of the President was a serious matter. There must be strong ground for it. He did not agree with the interpretations made by members with regard to the President's insufficient knowledge of Burmese and requisitioning the police, the latter being done for the safety and the maintenance of the dignity of the House. Sir Oscar conducted the proceedings impartially.

Rai Bahadur *R. K. Ghose*, appealing to the mover to withdraw the motion, submitted that the President's impartial and dignified conducting of business had made him a model president. The House adjourned for lunch.

The *President* after the luncheon interval, explained that U. *Ba Chaw's* questions were not admitted, because they did not satisfy the conditions laid down in the Council rules and standing orders, relating to the admission of questions. Regarding the extra police arrangements, he said that as it was reported that an attempt would be made to take away the mace, he found the necessity of an extra precaution to maintain dignity and order in the House. He now realised that the purpose of carrying away the mace was to attach dignity to a parallel Council which was then being held in the 'no' lobby. He also stated that as under the rules the language of the Council was English, and, therefore, he must conduct the proceedings in English.

The President then retired, leaving the chair to the Deputy President and reserving the right of reply.

U. *Po Khine* explaining the reasons for his not participating in similar motions on previous occasions, declared that his opinion had now undergone a change on this occasion on the grounds that the President in having not vacated the chair against the majority's verdict, lost his self-respect and violated parliamentary tactics and constitutional procedure.

The *Chief Secretary*, explaining how the President had cleared sufficiently the points raised by various speakers, stated the necessity of taking the assistance of the police. A motion of this nature was a formality when the Council used due to discretion in doing so, but in the present case it was not so. Regarding the provisions in the India Bill he pointed out that there was no reference with regard to the necessity of the Governor's concurrence on a motion of the removal of a President, passed by the House, but there were certain sections which provided safeguards. Further he observed that the whole controversy was being done in an inferior plane.

Mr. *S. A. S. Tyabji* moved an amendment for the substitution of the original motion urging the formation of a Council watch ward committee for the purpose of making arrangements for the safety of members and the public through the co-operation of the President with the Governor-in-Council. Mr. Tyabji in doing so recalled the dispute between the late President Patel and the Governor-General as regards the police arrangement in the Assembly.

U. *Kyaw Din* stressed that the most important thing to be taken into account in this connection was the will of the majority and its feeling, though reasons might not be sufficient. The House then adjourned.

**22nd. FEBRUARY** :—The Council resumed the discussion on U. *Ba Chaw's* motion for the removal of the President from his office. Several Burmese members spoke in support of the motion, while Sir *J. A. Maung Gyi*, leader of the Independent party, supported Mr. Tyabji's amendment which wanted the formation of a Council watch and ward committee in the place of the original motion. Sir *J. A. Maung Gyi* said that the amendment showed an easy way to get out of the present controversy and maintained that the President's conduct and behaviour to members were always good.

The *Finance Member*, associating himself with the remarks made by the Chief Secretary and Sir *John Cherry* yesterday, said that the President had maintained the self-respect, impartiality and dignity of the Chair. Referring to the controversy which

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The *Chief Secretary*, explaining how the President had cleared sufficiently the points raised by various speakers, stated the necessity of taking the assistance of the police. A motion of this nature was a formality when the Council used due to discretion in doing so, but in the present case it was not so. Regarding the provisions in the India Bill he pointed out that there was no reference with regard to the necessity of the Governor's concurrence on a motion of the removal of a President, passed by the House, but there were certain sections which provided safeguards. Further he observed that the whole controversy was being done in an inferior plane.

Mr. *S. A. S. Tyabji* moved an amendment for the substitution of the original motion urging the formation of a Council watch ward committee for the purpose of making arrangements for the safety of members and the public through the co-operation of the President with the Governor-in-Council. Mr. Tyabji in doing so recalled the dispute between the late President Patel and the Governor-General as regards the police arrangement in the Assembly.

U. *Kyaw Din* stressed that the most important thing to be taken into account in this connection was the will of the majority and its feeling, though reasons might not be sufficient. The House then adjourned.

**22nd. FEBRUARY** :—The Council resumed the discussion on U. *Ba Chaw's* motion for the removal of the President from his office. Several Burmese members spoke in support of the motion, while Sir *J. A. Maung Gyi*, leader of the Independent party, supported Mr. Tyabji's amendment which wanted the formation of a Council watch and ward committee in the place of the original motion. Sir *J. A. Maung Gyi* said that the amendment showed an easy way to get out of the present controversy and maintained that the President's conduct and behaviour to members were always good.

The *Finance Member*, associating himself with the remarks made by the Chief Secretary and Sir *John Cherry* yesterday, said that the President had maintained the self-respect, impartiality and dignity of the Chair. Referring to the controversy which

## REDUCTION OF PRESIDENT'S SALARY

**7th. MARCH** :—In the Council to-day, *U So Nyun* moved for consideration of the Bill for the reduction of the President's salary from Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 1,500 per mensem on grounds of economy.

It was opposed by several members of the *U Chit Hlaing* and *Dr. Ba Maw's* Parties, besides, Mr. S. A. S. *Tyabji*, who said that if economy were the only consideration, the motion for the reduction of the Ministers' salaries should have been brought before the House long ago which was not done.

The consideration of the motion was defeated by 46 against 19 votes. Those in favour included two officials and the Forest Minister, while the rest of the official bloc remained neutral. The Education Minister voted against the Bill. The Council then adjourned till the 8th. March when it was prorogued.

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# The N. W. Frontier Legislative Council

## LIST OF MEMBERS

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ABDUL GHAFUR KHAN, KHAN OF  
ZAIDA (President)

### II—Ex-officio Members and Ministers

2. THE HON'BLE SIR G. CUNNINGHAM
3. THE HON'BLE KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB  
SIR ABDUL QAYUM KHAN

### III—Officials Nominated

4. THOMSON, MR. J. S.
5. CAPT. MACANN
6. DEGALE, H. O.
7. COLONEL C. I. BRIERLY
8. SARDAR RAJA SINGH

### IV—Non-officials Nominated

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10. KHAN GHULAM RABBANI KHAN
11. HASSAN ALI KHAN, SULTAN KHAN  
SAHIB
12. KHAN MALIK-UR-RAHMAN KHAN,  
KAYANI
13. NARINJAN SINGH BEDI, BABA
14. KHAN ABDUL GHAFUR KHAN
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17. KHAN ABDUL HAMID KHAN, KUNDI
18. ABDUR RAHIM KHAN, KUNDI, KHAN  
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19. BAZ MUHAMMAD KHAN, KHAN  
BAHADUR, NAWAB
  20. GHULAM HAIDER KHAN, KHAN  
BAHADUR
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  22. KHAN SAHIB HIDAYTULLAH KHAN
  23. KHAN HABIBULLAH KHAN
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NAWAB
  25. ISHER DAS, RAI BAHADUR LALA
  26. KARAM CHAND, RAI BAHADUR
  27. KHUDA BAKHSH KHAN, MALIK
  28. LADHA RAM, LALA
  29. MUHAMMAD ZAMAN KHAN, KHAN  
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## GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

**8th. MARCH** :—The Council commenced general discussion of the Budget today.

**Mr. Malik Khuda Baksh**, Leader of the Opposition, said that it was the fourth budget since the Reforms and the Council had done its best to do justice to the grant of reforms by pointing out the defects latent in the administration. Although their revenue was inelastic, the change in the method of allocation of grants to the different heads to provide more for beneficent departments was required to save the province from bankruptcy. Creating new posts and constructing new buildings were the secret of deficit budgets. It was a curious coincidence that the Government houses at Nathiagali and Peshawar should be in dangerous condition when even mud huts were safe. The speaker criticised the internal administration of the Public Works Departments, opposed the restoration of the salary cuts, and complained against the Government's apathy towards the Council's demand as embodied in its resolution. Finally, he pressed for increase in the subvention by Rs. 17 lakhs to raise it to the basic figure.

Four other members who spoke to-day criticised the Public Works Departments and invited the Government to check corruption.

**Mr. Abdur Rahim**, Deputy President, criticised the Government for not appointing sub-committees like other provinces to advise on the various Departments.

**Rai Bahadur Ishardas** suggested embarking on the constructive policy of industrial development to increase their revenue and finance new schemes by borrowing, as money was cheap.

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**9th. MARCH** :—The demand for an increase of subvention to the basic figure of Rs. 1,17,00,000 recommended by the Haig Committee loomed large, when the Frontier Council resumed general discussion on the Budget to-day.

Fifteen speakers participated in to-day's debate, several complementing the Finance Member on the clarity of the Budget statement.

**Mr. Ladharam** invited the Government's attention to Jail Administration in the Province which, if properly managed, could not only be self-supporting but be a source of revenue.

**Mr. Abdul Gafur** wanted relief for agriculturists by the postponement of the building programme and alleged that the incompetence of the judiciary was responsible for increased expenditure under that head.

**Nawab Hamiullah** wanted the subvention to be raised to Rs. 1,50,00,000 at least.

**Mr. Peer Baksh** also urged increase of subvention.

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Attacks were levelled against the Publicity, Broadcasting and Agriculture Departments by members, who urged their immediate closure as they were not benefiting the masses.

**Sir Abdul Qaivum Khan** paid a tribute to the Finance Member for more generous allotment of funds for beneficent departments and suggested a united front in demanding an increase in the subvention as a matter of right and not of charity.

Sir *Stuart Pears*'s promise made with the full authority of the India Government that in matters of general administration and development, the departments of the Frontier would be brought to the level of the Punjab, was recalled by members, amidst cheers.

The *Finance Member*, replying to the two days' debate, said that his impression was that the House had received the Budget with sympathy, if not with entire approval. He said that the Government were working details on the basis of the present and future requirements, to strengthen the case for an increased subvention.

**11th. MARCH** :—The Council held a brief sitting to-day and passed supplementary demands for the current year.

Answering questions, Mr. Cunningham, the Finance Member, informed the Council that 15 prisoners for the various offences in connection with the Red Shirt movement were still in jail. He tabled a statement giving the names, term of imprisonment, section of the Penal Code or any other law under which they were imprisoned. Ten were undergoing imprisonment under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

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## Proceedings of the Council

BUDGET SESSION—SHILLONG—25th. FEBRUARY to 9th. MARCH 1935

### BUDGET FOR 1935—36

"Had such a state of affairs occurred in ordinary commercial life, the only straightforward course would have been to file immediately a petition in the bankruptcy court". This pessimistic note was struck by Mr. Laine, Finance Member, while presenting the Budget estimates of the Assam Government in the Assam Legislative Council which met at Shillong on the 25th. February under the chairmanship of Mr. Faiznur Ali.

The Budget provided for a revenue of Rs. 2,28,00,000 and expenditure charged to revenue of Rs. 283,20,000 thus resulting in a deficit of Rs. 55,20,000 which will have to be met by loans from Provincial Loans Fund. The 5 per cent. cut on the salary of Government Servants will be restored from the 1st of April. Provision for expenditure on election under the present or new constitution has not been made and will be made in due course. By the end of 1935-36 the total obligations of the Assam Government would be a little over two crores.

In the revised estimates for 1934-35 revenues stand at Rs. 2,17,00,000 and expenditure at Rs. 2,63,00,000 thus showing a deficit of 46 lakhs. During the present year the Assam Government will get 8 and a half lakhs on account of jute export duty.

The Finance Member next quoted the observation of the Controller of Assam in course of which he says: "The Assam deficit has been increasing in geometrical progression during the last three years and the revenue position of the Government which was bad enough last year has grown still worse in the year under review. The deficit of Assam which was 8 per cent. only in 1932-33 increased to 17 per cent. in 1933-34 whereas in the budget for 1934-35 the deficit is nearly 30 per cent. At the rate at which the position of Assam is deteriorating it seems very probable that it will soon fall behind Burma and Bengal which were the last in the race"

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## VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

**1st. MARCH:**—The Council passed to-day the Government demands under land revenue, forests and railways. Token cuts moved by non-official members were defeated or withdrawn,

There was considerable heckling over a question put by *Rai Bahadur Nilambar Datta* with regard to domicile certificates granted by the Government to people of other provinces. *Rai Bahadur Nilambar Datta* asked : "Is permanent residence with no intention of returning to the native district of the applicant, one of the conditions to be satisfied by an applicant for a domicile certificate ? If so, will the Government be pleased to state if inquiries are made for verification of the above condition ?

*Mr. J. A. Dawson*, Chief Secretary, replied : Owning a homestead (house and land) in the province, 10 years' residence in that homestead, and the intention to live therein until death, are the conditions laid down. Children of persons domiciled in the province are 'ipso facto' domiciled unless and until they clearly show their intention of reverting to the country from which their parents came. The Government have no reason to think that proper inquiries are not made by district officers.

*Mr. Rohini Kumar Chowdhury*, Khan Bahadur Keramat Ali, *Mr. Mohendra Lal Gohain*, *Mr. Jogendra Nath Gohain* and others who joined in this discussion, impressed upon the Government the necessity of revising the present rules of domicile.

*Mr. Rohini Kumar Chowdhury's* cut motion for raising a discussion on the remuneration and position of the 'mauzadars' were opposed both by the Government and *Rai Bahadur Nilambar Datta* and eventually lost.

**2nd. MARCH:**—In the Council after discussion *Mr. Rohini Chowdhury* withdrew his censure motion on the Hon'ble *Rai Bahadur P. C. Datta*, Judicial Member.

His censure motion on *Mr. Abdul Hamid*, Education Member, was ruled by the President out of order.

*Mr. Mahomed Mosraff's* motion for increasing the travelling allowance of Council members was carried by 25 to 9 votes. The *Judicial Member* promised that he would look for a cheaper agency in engaging lawyers in Government cases in the High Court of Calcutta and that he would get the scheme for the establishment of a High Court in Assam and he further promised to look into the question about bringing the courts in Shillong under the civil jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court.

After some discussion the grants of Rs. 18,07,300 for general administration and Rs. 8,91,500 for administration and Rs. 8,91,500 for administration of justice was carried, all cut motions being either withdrawn or not moved.

**4th. MARCH:**—The House criticised the Government for the maltreatment of civil population of Shillong by the Assam Rifles.

*Ma'mu Abdul Rashid Chowdhury* moved that the provision of Rs. 67,536 for the police force be reduced by Re. 1. In course of his speech when the mover was referring to the fact that assaults were made by the members of the Assam Rifles, *Mr. Dawson* said that the Government is aware about some incidents connected with the Gurkha Sepoys of the Cantonment. *Mr. Dawson* added that he will inform the House about the incidents when proper notice is given. *Sj. Rohini Kumar Chowdhury* in a forceful speech criticising the inactivity of the Government brought to the member's notice the Gurkha soldiers' attempt on two Khasi women and appealed to the House to support the motion. *Sj. Sanat Kumar Das*, while informing the House about the assaults of same brutal Gurkha soldiers on Babu Dwijendra Kisore Sen who jumped for the rescue of two Khasi women from the clutches of the Gurkha soldiers at the considerable risk of his own life, the whole House shivered. Great excitement prevailed while the discussion was going on. As the Government assured the house that they will do their best for the detection and punishment of the culprits for the future safety of Civil population of Shillong, the motion was withdrawn.

Demand for grant of Rs. 2,407,800 for the police evoked animated discussions. *Mr. Abdur Rashid's* cut motion for appointment of Sylhet and Bengali Hindus in the District Intelligence Department was carried by 22 votes against 21.

*Mr. Gopendra Das's* motion against the Deputy Superintendent of Police and the Inspector of Habiganj due to 'lapses' of the Dy. S. P. and that he was transferred with black remarks.

The Chief Secretary said that he had a good record and that he was transferred in the usual course.

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After some discussion the grants of Rs. 18,07,300 for general administration and Rs. 8,91,500 for administration and Rs. 8,91,500 for administration of justice was carried, all cut motions being either withdrawn or not moved.

**4th. MARCH:**—The House criticised the Government for the maltreatment of civil population of Shillong by the Assam Rifles.

*Member Abdul Rashid Chowdhury* moved that the provision of Rs. 67,536 for the police force be reduced by Re. 1. In course of his speech when the mover was referring to the fact that assaults were made by the members of the Assam Rifles, *Mr. Dawson* said that the Government is aware about some incidents connected with the Gurkha Sepoys of the Cantonment. *Mr. Dawson* added that he will inform the House about the incidents when proper notice is given. *Sj. Rohini Kumar Chowdhury* in a forceful speech criticising the inactivity of the Government brought to the member's notice the Gurkha soldiers' attempt on two Khasi women and appealed to the House to support the motion. *Sj. Sanat Kumar Das*, while informing the House about the assaults of same brutal Gurkha soldiers on Babu Dwijendra Kisore Sen who jumped for the rescue of two Khasi women from the clutches of the Gurkha soldiers at the considerable risk of his own life, the whole House shivered. Great excitement prevailed while the discussion was going on. As the Government assured the house that they will do their best for the detection and punishment of the culprits for the future safety of Civil population of Shillong, the motion was withdrawn.

Demand for grant of Rs. 2,407,800 for the police evoked animated discussions. *Mr. Abdur Rashid's* cut motion for appointment of Sylhet and Bengali Hindus in the District Intelligence Department was carried by 22 votes against 21.

*Mr. Gopendra Das's* motion against the Deputy Superintendent of Police and the Inspector of Habiganj due to 'lapses' of the Dy. S. P. and that he was transferred with black remarks.

The Chief Secretary said that he had a good record and that he was transferred in the usual course.

## DEVELOPMENT OF SILK INDUSTRY

**8th. MARCH:**—The Council to-day approved the proposal placed before the House by the Hon'ble *Maulavi Abdul Hamid* (Minister of Education) that, subject to the approval of the Government of India, the scheme for the development of the sericultural industry in Assam at a maximum cost to the local Government of Rs. 10,000, non-recurring only, be undertaken and given effect to in 1935-36.

The Government of India proposed, subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, to distribute for five years sericultural grants aggregating to Rs. one lakh a year for expenditure between April 1, 1935 and March 31, 1926 to provinces (and possibly also to Indian States) for the benefit of the sericultural industry in British India. The Government of Assam said the Minister, submitted a number of different schemes. viz., (1) for research, (2) production for seed on Government stations, and (3) production of seed by aid to private rearers.

The Government of India having decided that the most profitable line of action is that adopted in Bengal, viz., aid to rearers, and that research must be ruled out of consideration, the Government of Assam, continued the Minister, propose to give aid to 100 additional rearers (for instruments, appliances, flyproof doors and windows) to the extent of Rs. 13,500 and Rs. 6,000 for microscopes and accessories as nonrecurring grants, and propose a recurring grant of Rs. 14,574 for the fifth year. Rearers and weavers of Kamrup, Goalpara and the Garo Hills were already awake, he said, to the advantage that would be gained by expansion of their areas of cultivation by eliminating loss due to diseased cocoons and by local production of mulberry silk yarn, which would save weavers, the purchase of imported yarn from China and elsewhere.

The Assam Government would ask the Government of India to meet the charge on buildings on account of Assam's present financial position, but if this was not accepted, would undertake that Assam would meet the non-recurring cost to the extent of Rs. 10,000, viz., Rs 4,000 for microscopes and accessories and Rs. 6,000 for initial grants in aid at Rs. 150 to 40 selected rearers. It is hoped that savings from the grant may be available for grants to further rearers who really need them.

Speaking on this motion Mr. *Jagendranath Gohain* said the economic crisis in Assam could be removed if the Government would concentrate on the silk industry. He was of the opinion that Assamese "Moga Gudi" and "Pat" were far better than any silk in the world and that the Assamese "Gudi" cloth lasts for 40 or 50 years.

## PROGRAMME OF ROAD DEVELOPMENT

The Council passed the following resolution moved by the *Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Promode Chandra Dutta* :—

"With regard to road development in Assam, this Council recommends to the Government of Assam that, subject to the approval of the schemes by the Government of India, a programme of road improvement drawn up after consultation with the Assam Communications Board to be undertaken from the reserve fund of the Central Road Development account, be approved within the limit of funds to be allocated by the Government of India, and that order of priority shall so far as possible be shown in that programme for each valley, the distribution of the total grant available being generally in proportion of two to the Assam Valley and one to the Surma Valley."

## REFORMS REPORT DEBATE

**9th. MARCH:**—The Council refused to consider the Government motion for consideration of the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the proposals for Indian constitutional reforms contained in the Government of India Bill. In bringing this motion before the House the *Hon. Mr. A. J. Laine*, Finance Member, said: "These proposals are the outcome of many months of close discussion and anxious consideration by a joint committee of unprecedented strength with whom, as the Hon. Members are aware, were associated a representative delegation of Indian advisers of equally outstanding experience and ability.

"Assam, as a prospective autonomous unit in the proposed Federation, is, of course, as closely concerned as any other unit with the general principles underlying the J. P. C. Proposals. Some of these general principles have no doubt from various points of view, been persistently attacked elsewhere, but there have been important developments since, and I am optimistic enough to hope that in the light of these more recent developments the members of the Assam Council will come to the conclusion that some at least of these criticisms have lost much of their sting. I am referring, of course, to the Secretary of State's renewed pledge, on behalf of

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Excellency took the responsibility of refusing sanction on the ground that it would impose a heavy charge on the revenues of a bankrupt province. He stated that the controversy over this question and the deep interest that was being taken in it by the people in both the valleys would necessitate, first of all, a proper enquiry into its various aspects by a special officer and the appointment of a strong representative expert committee to consider all the facts placed by him before them, to take evidence if necessary and to make their recommendations to the Government. Without such an inquiry, his Excellency said that details of a University Bill could not be expected to be hammered out and reconstructed in the Council Chamber.

His Excellency expressed his disappointment over the Tenancy Bill as it had emerged from the select committee. It was in response, he stated, to the constant demand made in the Council for tenancy legislation for the temporarily settled areas that the Government had prepared this Bill and he had hoped that would receive the willing assent of the Council. The select committee had so limited the operations of the Bill that the Government were not prepared to proceed with it. His Excellency would not, however, accept the verdict of the committee as final. To give the Council an opportunity of saying whether they agreed with the committee or not the hon. the Revenue Member would move for recommitment of the Bill and the Government would be guided in their future action in regard to the Bill by the decision of the Council.

His Excellency commended to the Council the Court Fees and Stamp Amendment Bills, the passing of which, he said, would be a most practical gesture, showing that the province was doing its best to explore its resources.

Concluding, his Excellency made a touching reference to the manner in which the people in Assam took up the jubilee celebrations. He said: 'We have no great princes, no great business magnates, no owners of great estates. The moneys subscribed came from the pennies or the pice of the people, even from children. The boy scouts made a touching contribution of a pice a head for their own celebrations and sent a telegram of congratulations from themselves to his Majesty and the Queen. With his usual graciousness his Majesty sent them a special message in reply. Judged by our wealth or rather by our poverty our collections have reached a creditable, if not a great, total. But entirely apart from material aspect a striking fact on which all observers have commented, was the spontaneous spirit of loyalty in which the celebrations were taken up by the whole people.'

#### ASSAM TENANCY AMEND. BILL

**28th. MAY:**—The Finance Member presented to-day the report of the Select Committee on the Assam Tenancy Bill, 1934, and moved that the Bill as amended be recommitted to the Select Committee for further consideration. After long discussion the motion was carried by 35 to 1 votes. Nine abstained from voting and eight were absent.

#### COURT-FEES AND STAMP AMEND. BILLS

The Hon'ble Mr. A. J. Laine next introducing the Assam Stamp Amendment Bill, 1935, and the Assam Court Fees Amendment Bill, 1935, moved for their reference to select committees. Both were lost.

The bills aimed at increasing duties in certain respects on the lines of the recent Bengal legislation under these heads.

#### MUNICIPAL AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AMEND. BILLS

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Ranak Lal Barua then introduced and moved for reference to the select committee the Assam Municipal Amendment Bill, 1935, and the Assam Local Self-Government Amendment Bill, 1935. Both motions were carried.

The Bills aimed at rapid and efficient method of settling election disputes by laying down a special judicial procedure of placing settlement disputes in the hands of the District Judge.

#### CIVIL COURTS AMEND. BILL

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Promode Chandra Dutta moved consideration of the Assam Civil Courts Amendment Bill, 1935, but an amendment referring it to select committee was carried.

#### NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

**29th. MAY:**—The Council proceeded with resolutions to-day. Muhammad Mashraf's resolution as amended recommending establishment of a provincial board for primary education with a non-official majority elected by the Council was carried.

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## TEACHERS' PROVIDENT FUND

*Mr. Gopendralal Das Chowdhury's* both resolutions—one recommending the introduction of provident fund system for the benefit of lower primary and middle vernacular school teachers and the other recommending the extension to Assam and Bengal Patni Taluks regulation (Amendment) Act 1933 under the power given to the Local Government by scheduled Districts Act were carried without a division.

The same member had moved another resolution recommending taking early steps for the colonisation of all landless people in some suitable areas in Assam which was withdrawn.

*Maulvi Mamudali's* resolution recommending the grant of one lakh of rupees to the Local Boards for the eradication of water hyacinth was lost by 19 to 9 votes.

## STATE AID TO INDUSTRIES

*Maulvi Abdur Rashid Choudhury* moved that the Assam State Aid to the Industries Bill 1933 be referred to a Select Committee. The Secretary said that Government's financial condition stood in the way of State aid. Even if the bill be passed he said the better course would be private finance through Industrial and Commercial Banks. He signified his sympathy for the objects of the Bill.

*Mr. Jogendra Gohain* moved an amendment for circulating the bill to elicit public opinion which was carried without a division.

## SECOND CHAMBER FOR ASSAM

*Mr. Rohini Choudhury* then being called upon moved that the Council reaffirms its opinion that there should be no second chamber in Assam. Mr. Choudhury withdrew the motion and explaining his reason said: "From the statements made yesterday by Government members it is clear that Assam Government submitted their opinion on the Second chamber without taking fresh opinion of the Councillors either individually or collectively. We have been informed that public bodies and political associations were not consulted before they submitted their opinion in April last. The position is that the non-official opinion expressed in 1932 Council holds the field. They received the official information that Government would vote on the motion though 1932 officials were free to vote. Under the circumstances friends advise me to withdraw the motion. Besides you (president) distinctly said yesterday that the motion would be disallowed if the adjournment motion on the same topic was moved".

The statement was interrupted and the president disallowed him from proceeding.

Replying to questions the Hon'ble Mr. Laine said since two floods of June Rs. 1500 and 27,000 were made available for test relief in Sylhet and Nowgong respectively and Rs. 2046, in Habiganj, 5727 in Sonamganj and Rs. 26508 in Nowgong were actually spent.

The Education Minister replied in the negative answering a question of Mr. Abdul Khalique Chowdhury whether Government intend to invite public opinion on the amendment of education rules orders. The Council adjourned till the 4th.

## FINANCE MEMBER CONGRATULATED

4th. JUNE :—When the Council met to-day, the Hon. *Maulavi Faiznur Ali*, President of the Council, congratulated Sir *Abraham Laine*, Leader of the House, on the K. C. I. E. conferred on him in the King's Birthday Honours. Mr. *E. S. Roffey*, leader of the Planting Group, and *Khan Bahadur Keramat Ali* associated themselves with the remarks made by the President.

Sir *Abraham* thanked all those who had given him unswerving loyalty and ungrudging co-operation during his 35 years' service in Assam.

The President also congratulated Rai Bahadur Brindaban Goswami and Khan Bahadur Muhammad Moshraff on the titles conferred on them.

## QUETTA EARTH-QUAKE CONDOLENCE

Mr. *E. S. Roffey* then moved the following resolution which was carried unanimously—

"This Council joins the whole country in expressing its deep sorrow and sympathy for the grievous losses suffered in the Quetta earthquake and hopes that the people of the province will respond generously to the appeals for help on behalf of the sufferers".

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Closure was applied to the debate and *Sir Abraham Laine* moved a compromise to be arrived at by the members of the Select Committee before the matter was taken up again on the next day, the difficulty being that the terms used were susceptible of different meanings.

A few more amendments were gone through under clause 3.

**6th. JUNE :—**The Council continued to-day the consideration of the Tenancy Bill, 106 of the 131 clauses having now been passed.

*Mr. Sanat Kumar Das* and *Mr. Jogendra Nath Gohain* emphasized the necessity of being fair both to landlords and tenants and not to tenants only as was contemplated by certain sections of the Bill.

Clause 7 allows a tenant to use the land in his holding in any manner which does not materially impair the value of the land or render it unfit for the purposes of tenancy and a privileged tenant will be entitled to plant, fell or utilize and dispose of the timber of any tree on such land provided that in doing so he does not contravene the provisions of any law and provided further that he will not be entitled, without the landlord's consent in writing, to fell, utilize or dispose of the timber of any tree which stood on the holding before the creation of the tenancy. When the tenancy is over 20 years old all trees standing on the land shall be preserved unless it is proved that they were planted during the tenancy.

*Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury* moved an amendment to omit the above proviso but this move was strenuously opposed both by Government and by *Khan Bahadur Nuruddin Ahmed* and others.

*Mr. Harendra Chandra Chakrabarti*, Deputy President of the Council, said it would be wrong to give a tenant unrestricted power to fell, utilize and dispose of valuable trees standing in his holding. There were many holdings with valuable old trees standing on them and if tenants were now empowered to fell these trees landlords would suffer considerable loss. He said this obviously would be most unfair since it depreciated the value of the land. The amendment was put to the vote and defeated.

Rights similar to those conceded to privileged tenants have also been given, in Clause 14, to ryots having occupancy rights. Clause 17 of the Bill, which gives protection from objection, gave rise to considerable discussion. *Haji Idris Ali Barlaskhar* moved a series of amendments the objects of which were to give landlords power to resume their land when they required it for their own purposes. He argued that according to the Bill the land once given to a tenant was lost for ever and middle-class landowners, who are now in service away from their homesteads, would find it hard to get back their lands when they retired from service. The amendments were lost.

Clause 14 also makes it obligatory that after the passing of the Bill contracts between landlords and tenants will have to be registered. *Mr. Hirendra Chandra Chakrabarty* and *Mr. Sanat Kumar Das* pointed out that this business of registration would create hardship both for tenants and landlords as they would have to go through all the formalities of a registration office before a deed could be registered. This objection was overruled.

The right of sub-letting a holding by an occupancy ryot was resisted by *Maulavi Abdur Rashid Choudhury* as that might lead to litigation. Government accepted this view and opposed an amendment moved by *Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury*.

With regard to a landlord's claim for enhancement of rent, Clause 25 lays down that when an enhancement is claimed on the ground of a landlords' improvement the Court shall not grant an enhancement unless the improvement has been registered in accordance with the Act and that in determining the amount of enhancement the Court shall have regard to the increase in the productive powers of the land caused or likely to be caused by the improvement. The cost of the improvement, the cost of the cultivation required for utilizing the improvement and the existing rent and the ability of the land to bear a higher rent are also factors to be taken into consideration.

Clause 69 of the Bill gives the tenant the right to claim compensation for improvements effected by him in his holding in case he is ejected.

In reply to a question put by *Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury* with regard to Assam's annual contribution for the Calcutta High Court the Hon. *Rai Bahadur Promode*

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The right of sub-letting a holding by an occupancy ryot was resisted by *Maulavi Abdur Rashid Choudhury* as that might lead to litigation. Government accepted this view and opposed an amendment moved by *Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury*.

With regard to a landlord's claim for enhancement of rent, Clause 25 lays down that when an enhancement is claimed on the ground of a landlords' improvement the Court shall not grant an enhancement unless the improvement has been registered in accordance with the Act and that in determining the amount of enhancement the Court shall have regard to the increase in the productive powers of the land caused or likely to be caused by the improvement. The cost of the improvement, the cost of the cultivation required for utilizing the improvement and the existing rent and the ability of the land to bear a higher rent are also factors to be taken into consideration.

Clause 69 of the Bill gives the tenant the right to claim compensation for improvements effected by him in his holding in case he is ejected.

In reply to a question put by *Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury* with regard to Assam's annual contribution for the Calcutta High Court the Hon. Rai Bahadur Promode

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# The Indian National Congress

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE

### Delhi—16th. to 18th. January 1935

The first meeting of the Working Committee for the year 1935 met at the residence of Dr. Ansari at Delhi on January 16, 17 and 18, 1935. Babu Rajendra Prasad presided. The following members were present :

1. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. 2. Dr. M. A. Ansari, 3. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, 4. Shri C. Rajagopalachariar, 5. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya 6. Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, 7. Syt. Gangadharro Deshpande, 8. Dr. Syed Mahmud, 9. Syt. Jairamdas Doulatram, and 10. Acharya J. B. Kripalani.

Syt. Bhulabhai J. Desai, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and Dr. Khan Saheb attended the meeting by invitation.

The minutes of the last meeting of the Committee were confirmed.

A statement of accounts of the A. I. C. C. office for December, 1934 was placed before the meeting and passed.

#### Provincial Contributions

The Committee considered the letters of the Bombay and Burma P. C. Cs. requesting the reduction of their annual subscriptions. The Committee regretted inability to introduce change in the financial arrangement.

The following resolutions were passed :—

#### Condolence

The Committee places on record its heartfelt sorrow at the sudden and premature deaths of Syt. Abhyankar and Acharya Gidwani. The Committee records its appreciation for the great services they rendered and the sacrifices they made in the cause of the country. The Committee conveys its sincere sympathy and condolence to the families of the deceased in their sad bereavement.

#### Poorna Swaraj Day

The public should not need the reminder that 26th January has been observed, since the Lahore Congress, as the *Poorna Swaraj* (Complete Independence) Day. As civil disobedience has been suspended by the Congress, the proceedings for the day should not be in breach of the ordinances or other laws or orders promulgated by local authority. Consistently with this precaution, silent processions should be taken to previously announced meeting places and at the meetings the under-noted resolution worded in Hindustani or the local languages should be read out by the Chairman and without any speeches passed by the audience standing. Where meetings are prohibited, every household should meet at the appointed time and pass the resolution and inform the nearest Congress Committee of having done so.

At every meeting or in every house the passing of the resolution should be preceded by the unfurling of the national flag.

The resolution shall be as under :

"We remind ourselves on this, the solemn national day, that Complete Independence is our birthright and we shall not rest till we have achieved it.

"To that end we shall strive to the utmost of our ability to observe Truth and Non-violence in thought, word and deed, and shall consider no sacrifice or suffering too great to be undergone.

"As a token of the expression of the two essential qualities of Truth and Non-violence, we shall seek to

(i) adopt and promote heart unity among different communities and to establish complete equality of status among all, irrespective of caste or creed or race

(ii) to adopt and promote complete abstinence from intoxicating drinks or drugs

(iii) to promote handspinning and other village industries and to adopt for personal use khaddar and other products of village industries to the exclusion of other products

(iv) to abolish untouchability

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3. No disciplinary action shall be taken without an opportunity being given to the Committee or individual concerned to state its or his case and answer such charges as are made before the Working Committee.

4. When the Working Committee is not sitting, the President may take cognizance of all urgent cases requiring disciplinary action and shall act on behalf of the Working Committee. In all such cases the decision of the President must be placed before the next meeting of the Working Committee who may confirm or revise the same.

5. The Executive Committees of the Provincial Congress Committees shall also have the power to take disciplinary action against their subordinate Committees and members of any Congress Executive Committees and members of primary Committees within their province. In all such cases the same procedure as is followed by the Working Committee shall be adhered to. It shall be open to the Committee or member against whom disciplinary action is taken to appeal against it to the Working Committee, provided that pending the appeal the order appealed against is submitted to.

6. Any person against whom an expulsion order is passed may apply for revision to the A. I. C. C. Such application should be sent by registered post to the Working General Secretary's address not later than forty days after the date of the final order appealed against, provided that at any time a revision may be applied for and allowed by reason of altered circumstances.

#### **Residential Qualifications**

Interpreting the implication of residential qualification in Art. III of the constitution, the Committee was of opinion that there was no inter-district restriction with regard to elections in the constitutions. It would, however, be open to provinces to make their own rule in respect of a candidate from outside the province proposing to stand for an election in the province.

#### **A. I. C. C. Members for U. P.**

On a reference being made by the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee for increasing its quota of A. I. C. C. members, the Committee after discussing the question decided that it had no authority to change the allocation of members as they were fixed by the constitution.

#### **Bengal Elections**

The Committee adhered to the interpretation already given to Article XVIII (b) and (c) of the constitution.

#### **Burma**

The Committee discussed the problem of Burma under the scheme of reforms in the J. P. C. Report and decided that the Burma Provincial Congress Committee would for the time being function as before.

With regard to the position of Indians in Burma under the new scheme the Committee was of opinion that as the whole scheme was unacceptable and therefore no amendments could be suggested by the Congress, there was no bar to Burma Indians criticising parts of the scheme which vitally affected their position and status.

#### **Famine in Andhra**

The President was authorised to issue an appeal for funds for relieving the distress in the famine-stricken areas in Andhra. He issued the following appeal:

"I have read with pain and sorrow accounts of the sufferings of the people of Rayalaseema which comprises some four districts of the Andhra Province in the Madras Presidency. Famine conditions are prevailing there and millions of human beings and cattle are undergoing such indescribable miseries as are witnessed only when a severe famine visits the land. An appeal has been made by Mr. T. Prakasam, as President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, and Prof. N. G. Ranga, as President of the Andhra Peasants Protection Committee for funds, for relieving the distress there. Having seen and worked among sufferers in another part of the country I can realise and visualise to myself the terrible plight of the people in the grip of a severe famine. I whole-heartedly support the appeal for funds and hope the country, and particularly the South, will respond to it with the generosity which the cause demands".

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**Mahakoshal**

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**Congress Provincial Executives**

The terms of the new Congress Constitution required all Provincial Congress Committees to hold on or before the 15th of January, 1935 their elections to A. I. C. C. and of office-bearers of the reconstituted Provincial Congress Committees. The elections were held according to this time-table. The following list gives the names of the presidents and secretaries of the respective P. C. Cs.

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*President*: Shri Gauri Shanker Bhargava. *General Secretary*: Syt. Haribhao Upadhyaya. *Secretaries*: Syt. Saeed Razmi, Syt. Bishamber Nath Bhargava.

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### Adjournment Motions

Two adjournment motions were tabled by the Congress Party, one in connection with the Government circular over the All-India Village Industries' Association and another for the detention without trial of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose. The first motion was talked out, while the Congress carried the second motion by 58 votes to 54.

### Presidential Election

The Congress sustained a defeat in the election of the President of the Assembly, the Congress nominee Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani having secured 62 votes as against 70 secured by Sir Abdur Rahim, a member of the Independent Muslim Party. All the Government votes were given to Sir Abdur Rahim.

### Indo-British Trade Agreement

The Assembly adopted by 66 votes to 58 a motion urging the Government to terminate the Indo-British Trade Agreement. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, leader of the Independent Muslim Party, lent his strong support to the motion.

### Ban on Khudai-Khidmatgars

The Assembly carried a resolution urging the removal of the ban on Khudai Khidmatgars by 74 to 46 votes. The resolution was worded as follows :—

"The Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council to take immediate and necessary steps to remove or cause to be removed the ban on the Khudai-Khidmatgars organisation in the North-West Frontier Province."

### Assembly Verdict on J. P. C. Report

The procedure followed by the Government in the Assembly in connection with the debate on the J. P. C. Report was different from that followed in the provincial councils. In the provinces the official bloc rightly refrained from taking part in the voting so that only Indian opinion represented in provincial councils might register its vote on the Report. In the Assembly, however, government decided to intervene in the debate and cast all votes at their disposal against amendments to their proposition for the consideration of the Report. But for this intervention the unambiguous resolution moved by the Congress Party recommending government not "to proceed with any legislation based on the said scheme" would have been carried.

The Assembly, however, adopted the amendment moved by Mr. Jinnah. For the purpose of voting, the amendment was divided into two parts, the first part relating to the acceptance of the Communal Award. The Congress amendment of neutrality was first put to vote as an amendment to Mr. Jinnah's amendment, and was lost, there being 44 votes cast in its favour by the members of the Congress Party. After the Congress amendment was lost, the Congress group remained neutral and the first clause was carried with the votes of the Mussalmans and the Government.

The second and third clauses were put together as being an entire alternative and were adopted by the House by 74 against 58 votes. The Congress Party voted for the amendment, the Government and nominated Members voted against it.

Mr. Jinnah's amendment was as follows :—

1. "That this Assembly accepts the Communal Award, so far as it goes, until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities concerned."

2. "As regards the scheme of Provincial Governments, this House is of opinion that it is most unsatisfactory and disappointing, in as much as it includes various objectionable features, particularly the establishment of Second Chambers, the Extra-ordinary and Special Powers of the Governors, provisions relating to Police rules, Secret Service and Intelligence Departments, which render the real control and responsibility of the Executive and Legislature ineffective and therefore unless these objectionable features are removed, it will not satisfy any section of Indian opinion."

3. "With respect to the scheme of the Central Government, called 'All-India Federation' this House is clearly of opinion that it is fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable to the people of British India and therefore recommends to the Government of India to advise his Majesty's Government not to proceed with any legislation based on this scheme and urges that immediate efforts should be made to consider how best to establish in British India alone a real and complete Responsible Government and with that view take steps to review the whole position in consultation with Indian opinion without delay."

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2. "As regards the scheme of Provincial Governments, this House is of opinion that it is most unsatisfactory and disappointing, in as much as it includes various objectionable features, particularly the establishment of Second Chambers, the Extra-ordinary and Special Powers of the Governors, provisions relating to Police rules, Secret Service and Intelligence Departments, which render the real control and responsibility of the Executive and Legislature ineffective and therefore unless these objectionable features are removed, it will not satisfy any section of Indian opinion."

3. "With respect to the scheme of the Central Government, called 'All-India Federation' this House is clearly of opinion that it is fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable to the people of British India and therefore recommends to the Government of India to advise his Majesty's Government not to proceed with any legislation based on this scheme and urges that immediate efforts should be made to consider how best to establish in British India alone a real and complete Responsible Government and with that view take steps to review the whole position in consultation with Indian opinion without delay."

The amendment contained in clauses 2 and 3 which was put as an entire alternative scheme was treated by the Government, speaking through the Law Member, as

President of each Provincial Board, who in his turn is to select not more than fifteen members for his Board of whom five shall be wholetime workers in the Harijan cause. All properties of the Sangh shall vest in a permanent Trustee or Trustees appointed by the President of the Central Board. The office-bearers, agents and members of the Central, the Provincial Boards and Committees have each to sign a pledge and have to perform some definite Harijan Service named by him and approved by or on behalf of his Board. There are in all 21 Provincial Boards of the Sangh with 179 district and 154 Taluk Committees.

#### *Educational Work 1933-34*

This year, as during the last year, special importance has been given to educational advancement. The Central Board took upon itself the duty of granting scholarships and aid for collegiate studies and the Provincial Boards concentrated on the award of school scholarships.

Against 427 schools of last year, the Board has 900 schools working this year, an increase of 55 per cent. The total attendance has swelled to 24,824 and the total annual expenditure was Rs. 75,514-12-41. The number of night schools is proportionately very large, and out of 900 schools only 535 are day schools.

#### *"Industrial Homes"*

The Sangh has this year taken a definite steps to ameliorate the economic condition of Harijans. A number of "Industrial Homes" have been started in some provinces. The most important of these is the Hauri Shala at Karachi, started out of the munificent gift of Rs. 50,000 by the Mhattra family. The Sabarmati Ashram has got a tanning and Chappal making section which turns out on an average 800 pairs of chappais and 300 pairs of shoes monthly.

#### *Welfare work for the year 1933-34*

The total number of oil wells to which access of Harijans has been secured is 170, and the total number of new wells built for their use is 80. Temples thrown open to Harijans number 177 and new temples built for them number 13. The value of medical aid rendered to them through the several provincial branches of the Sangh stands at Rs. 10,683-1-3.

#### *Gandhiji's tour*

The event of the year was the All-India Harijan tour of Gandhiji which commenced on the 7th November, 1933 and ended at Benares by the end of August 1934. This tour was a success in many ways. It was a remarkable personal victory for Mahatmaji. A sum of Rs. 8,21,179-15-11 excluding expenses was collected in about 8 months, the largest collection in a province Rs. 1,16,438 was in Tamil Nad, and the largest collection in a city Rs. 70,263-15-8 was in Calcutta.

#### *Funds*

Out of the net Purse Fund collection of Rs. 8,21,179-15-11 the quota of the Central Board amounted to Rs. 2,12,323-9- $\frac{1}{2}$ . The ordinary collections during the year were Rs. 51,855-9-10. The Gandhi Recovery Felicitation Fund of Rs. 20,199-3-7 has been merged into the general fund and no separate account has been kept for it.

During the year the total expenditure of the Head Office was Rs. 1,05,865-0-11 $\frac{1}{2}$  out of which Rs. 90,000 was grants and advances to Provincial Boards. Direct grants to institutions amounted to Rs. 1,649. There was an excess of expenditure over income.

The Provincial Boards spent on administration Rs. 48,016. on propaganda Rs. 22,783 and on welfare work Rs. 2,02,658. This works out as 18.8 and 74 per cent respectively. This is an advance considering that the limit of 20 per cent, 20 per cent and 60 per cent. was prescribed for each of these items, at the last annual meeting held at Delhi. The considerable reduction of expenditure under the second head, propaganda, was partly due to Gandhiji's tour and partly due to instructions issued to that effect by the Head Office and rigidly enforced at the time of sanctioning grants.

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Shankerlal Banker, (8) Sj. Laxmidas P. Asar. Sj. Shrikrishnadas Jaju shall be the first president and treasurer and Sj. J. C. Kumarappa the organiser and secretary.

After the expiry of the term of office of the first Board of Management the succeeding Boards shall be elected every three years by ordinary members of at least three years' standing from among themselves. Each member of the Board shall be jointly and severally responsible for enforcement of policy of the Association and shall, therefore, be expected to the best of his ability when the Board is not in session to represent and enforce its policy and programme within his or her sphere of influence.

#### *Ordinary Members*

Any person, who subscribes to the pledge hereto annexed, recommended by a member of the Board of Management and whose admission is approved by the said Board, shall be an ordinary member of the Association.

#### *Agents*

Agents may be selected out of the ordinary members by the Board for representing it without any pay in villages or districts and shall be chosen for their knowledge of the area of their jurisdictions and for their organising ability and influence within their areas and shall be subject to bye-laws defining their duties.

#### *Honorary Workers*

Honorary workers shall be workers other than agents or ordinary members and shall be approved by a member of the Board of Agents. Such workers shall perform some tangible service of the Association.

#### *Paid Workers*

Paid whole-time workers shall be chosen by the Board or persons duly authorised thereto, subject to confirmation of the Board and shall give their whole time and attention to the work of the association.

Any person, who sympathises with the object of the Association and pays an annual subscription of not less than Rs. 100, shall be an associate and one who pays a lump sum of Rs. 6,000 may be enrolled as a life associate. Advisers shall be those who consistently with their pre-occupations agree to give free benefit of their special knowledge to the association whenever consulted.

#### *Powers and Duties of the Board of Management*

The Board of Management shall be in full charge of the affairs of the association and shall have powers to add to their number from among the duly enrolled members, provided the total strength does not exceed twenty. It shall maintain proper books of accounts which shall be duly audited and which shall be open to public inspection.

#### *Bye-Laws*

The Board of Management shall have power to frame bye-laws for the due carrying out of the object of the association.

#### *Alteration to the Constitution*

It will be open to the Board of Management by a vote of three-fourths of the then existing members of the Board to alter, amend or add to the constitution with exception of the clauses relating to the object and trustees. In the case of these two clauses a complete unanimity of the trustees and of the members of the Board of Management will be required to make any change.

The following shall be added to the bye-laws. Bye-law No. II—Every ordinary member of the association shall send to the Secretary a report of the work done by him every quarter so as to reach the central office not later than one month after the expiry of the quarter. If no report is received for two consecutive quarters from any ordinary member, such a member shall cease to be a member of the association. Every honorary worker shall keep a record of the work done by him, an abstract of which he shall send to the Secretary once every quarter.

#### *Agency Rules of A. I. V. I. A.*

Under Bye-law No. 10 the following rules for agents have been framed by the Board of Management of the A. I. V. I. A.

(1) To begin with, the agent will be expected to attend to the programme already drawn up by the Central Office. After he has made a fair start with the Central

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**C**

Calcutta (North), Calcutta (Central), Calcutta (South), Calicut, Chanda, Chandina, Chandpur (Bijnore), Chapra, Chengadu, Chircandi, Chinglepet, Chounk (Aligarh), Choupatty, Cocanada, Coimbatore, Comilla, Conjeevaram, Cuddapah.

**D**

Dadar, Dalla, Dalsingsarai, Danda (Dehra Dun), Darbhanga, Dehra Dun, Delhi, Deoghur (Santhal Parganas), Dhampur (Bijnore), Dharapuram, Dindigul, Doiwala (Dehra Dun), Dongargaon (Akola), Dumka (Santhal Parganas) Durgawati (Sahabad).

**E**

Ellore, Enaetpur, Erwakatta (Etawah), Etah.

**F**

Ferozepur, Fethpur (Unao).

**G**

Gaura (Shahabad), Gaya, Ghatkopar, Ghaziabad. Ghormara (Santhal Parganas), Godda (Santhal Parganas) Gola (Lakhimpore), Gondia, Gopalganj, Gudivada, Guntur.

**H**

Haldwani (Naini Tal), Hapur, Harrya (Basti), Hathras (Aligarh) Hivarkhed (Akola), Hinganghat, Hooghly Howrah, Hyderabad (Sind).

**I**

Indupur (Monghyr), Intur.

**J**

Jagdishpur, Jacobabad, Jharia, Jammalawadhy.

**K**

Kalamb (Yeotmal), Kolwari (Basti), Karachi, Katol, Karanja (Akola), Kamptee, Kasganj, Keleveli, Kelod, Khagab, Khagna, Khamgaon (Buldana), Khandwa, Kharangna, Khanhara (Santhal Parganas), Kotri, Kulpahar, Kumbhakonam, Kusmil (Santhal Parganas).

**L**

Lahore, Larkana, Lakhout (Dehra Dun), Lucknow, Lyallpur.

**M**

Madras (Andhra D. C. C.), Madura, Mahoba (Hamirpur), Makoor (Unao), Mamrezpur (Unao), Mana (Akola). Mangalore, Mannargudi, Mohkar (Buldana), Mithi, Monghyr, Moradabad, Morshi, Motihari, Murtisapur (Akola), Musalipatam, Muttra, Muzaffarpur.

**N**

Nagapaliam, Nakhti (Santhal Parganas), Namakha (Salem), Nashankar, Nagpur, Nasik, Nator, Nemmore, Nidubrolu, Noakhali, Nuzvid.

**P**

Palia (Lakhimpur), Panhan (Unao) Patna, Peddapuram, Peramber, 24 Parganas D. C. C., Pilibhit, Pipragautam (Basti), Pollachi, Poona, Pranimandal (Dana), Purnea, Purulia, Purwakhas (Unao), Pusao (Yeotmal).

**R**

Radhukera, Raipur, Rajamundry, Rajbari, Ramtek, Rantanpur (Santhal Parganas), Rishikesh (Dehra Dun), Rudain (Aligharh).

**S**

Saharanpur, Salem, Salke, Santa Cruz, Sarba (Santhal Parganas). Sasni (Aligarh), Sattenapalli, Saoner, Semria, Shahpur (Aligarh), (Shahabad) Shikapur, (Shahbad)

**B**

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**J**

Jagdishpur, Jacobabad, Jharia, Jammalawadhyा.

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"In the District and sub-divisional towns Curfew order, the prohibition of cycling by Bhadralong youngmen and the keeping of the identity cards by all persons between the ages of 15 and 30, as also the order to report all their movements to the Police are still in force.

"Route marches of soldiers, with occasional house-searches still continue. A network of what are called anti-terrorist leagues have been started throughout the district and officials and certain non-officials are holding meetings preaching not merely against the misguided activities of the terrorists, but also against all Congress activities. The Government is also now bent upon saddling the district with Union Boards. It may be mentioned that Midnapur resisted the imposition of these Boards in 1921 by offering Satyagraha."

## DISTRESS WARRANTS IN BEHAR

Property belonging to relations of several Congress workers in the district of Patna was recently attached by the Government on the strength of warrants issued for realisation of fines which were imposed on them in addition to sentences of imprisonment in 1932. In every case, the Congressman concerned is reported to have had undergone the additional term of imprisonment in default of payment of the fine. In reply to the protests of the parties the Police officers engaged in the attachments are reported to have invited them to file suits to establish their claim. In the meantime in several cases the property attached was put to sale.

## UNITY TALKS

Negotiations for an agreed settlement between the communities which could replace the so-called Communal Award and which by minimising communal discord and bickerings could enable the country to present a united front proceeded for more than a month between the Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League. The talks started on January 23 last and were resumed from February 12, after a short break in the first week of February. They terminated on March 1, 1935.

The Associated Press rightly reported that as far as Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Jinnah were concerned the prolonged negotiations had brought about a substantial measure of common agreement, and left to themselves they would have reached a settlement, which they had every hope would have been endorsed by the Congress and the Muslim League. But their attempt to make others outside the two organisations agree to the same failed. Accordingly negotiations were abandoned.

Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Jinnah have issued the following joint statement:

"We have made an earnest effort to find a solution of the communal problem, which would satisfy all the parties concerned. We regret that in spite of our best efforts we have not been able to find such a formula.

We realise that communal harmony and concord are essential for the progress of the country, and we can only hope that forces will arise which will make a future attempt more fruitful.

Sd. RAJENDRA PRASAD  
Sd. M. A. JINNAH

## ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

The All India Congress Committee met at Jubbulpore on April 24 and 25, 1935. Babu Rajendra Prasad presided. Except the North-West Frontier Province, Kerala, Berar and Burma, all the other Congress provinces were represented.

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and for indefinite periods of a large number of the youth torn from their natural surroundings depriving their families and dependants in many cases of the natural source of maintenance without making any other arrangement for their support.

This Committee is of opinion that it is high time for the Government of Bengal either to discharge the detenues or give them a fair trial through the ordinary law courts.

This Committee assures the people of Bengal in general and the detenues in particular of its full sympathy in their affliction.

The Committee asks the Bengal P. C. C. to prepare a list of detenues and internees with full particulars including their period of detention and internment and about the financial condition of the families and report it to the Working Committee.

This Committee further resolves that an All India Fund for the relief to the Detenues' families be started under the control of the Working Committee.

### 9. Mob Violence at Ferozabad

This Committee deeply deplores the horrible acts of mob violence perpetrated at Ferozabad culminating in the burning alive of the whole family of Doctor Jivaram including children and patients. This Committee hopes that leaders of all communities will realise the extent to which religious fanaticism when once roused can go and that they will see the advisability of abstaining from saying or doing anything that fans such frenzy. It appeals to all to take effective steps to make people realise the need for all communities, particularly Hindus and Muslims, living together in peace and friendship with mutual good understanding and respect.

### 10. Indian States

This Committee declares that the interests of the people of the Indian States are as much the concern of the Indian National Congress as those of the people of British India and assures them of its full support in their struggle for freedom.

## THE WORKING COMMITTEE

The Working Committee met at Gopal Bag, Jubulpore on April 23, 24 and 25, 1935. Babu Rajendra Prasad presided. The following members were present:

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Sri K. F. Nariman, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande, Shri J. B. Kripalani.

Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad was present at the meeting of April 25th.

Shri Bhulabhai Desai, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Shri Surendra Mohan Moitra, Shri Nabin Chandra Bardoloi, Pandit Nilkantha Das and Shri Ravishanker Shukla attended the meeting by invitation.

The minutes of the last meeting held on January 16, 17, and 18, 1935 were confirmed.

The statement of A. I. C. C. office accounts from January to March, 1935 was placed before the meeting and passed. The Committee sanctioned the excess expenditure of Rs. 124-7-6 under the head "Miscellaneous".

### Estimate of Expenditure

The following estimate of expenditure of the A. I. C. C. office till the end of December, 1935 was adopted by the Committee.

	Rs.
1. Establishment	7000
2. Postage and Telegrams	900
3. Stationery and Printing	2900
4. Travelling expenses	1800
5. Rents and taxes	640
6. Furniture	1000
7. Library	1000
8. Miscellaneous	900
9. Repairs of Swaraj Bhawan	300
10. Electric Installation	250
	<hr/>
Total	16,960

NOTE :—Under the head Stationery and Printing provision has been made for the following over and above the usual publications :—

and for indefinite periods of a large number of the youth torn from their natural surroundings depriving their families and dependants in many cases of the natural source of maintenance without making any other arrangement for their support.

This Committee is of opinion that it is high time for the Government of Bengal either to discharge the detenues or give them a fair trial through the ordinary law courts.

This Committee assures the people of Bengal in general and the detenues in particular of its full sympathy in their affliction.

The Committee asks the Bengal P. C. C. to prepare a list of detenues and internees with full particulars including their period of detention and internment and about the financial condition of the families and report it to the Working Committee.

This Committee further resolves that an All India Fund for the relief to the Detenues' families be started under the control of the Working Committee.

### 9. Mob Violence at Ferozabad

This Committee deeply deplores the horrible acts of mob violence perpetrated at Ferozabad culminating in the burning alive of the whole family of Doctor Jivaram including children and patients. This Committee hopes that leaders of all communities will realise the extent to which religious fanaticism when once roused can go and that they will see the advisability of abstaining from saying or doing anything that fans such frenzy. It appeals to all to take effective steps to make people realise the need for all communities, particularly Hindus and Muslims, living together in peace and friendship with mutual good understanding and respect.

### 10. Indian States

This Committee declares that the interests of the people of the Indian States are as much the concern of the Indian National Congress as those of the people of British India and assures them of its full support in their struggle for freedom.

## THE WORKING COMMITTEE

The Working Committee met at Gopal Bag, Jubulpore on April 23, 24 and 25, 1935. Babu Rajendra Prasad presided. The following members were present:

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Sri K. F. Nariman, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande, Shri J. B. Kripalani.

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NOTE :—Under the head Stationery and Printing provision has been made for the following over and above the usual publications :—

2. Despatch by the primary committees of lists of qualified Congress members	13th July
3. Receipt by the P. C. Cs. of above list from Primary Committees	30th July
4. Receipt by the A. I. C. C. office of above lists from the P. C. Cs.	30th August
5. Despatch by the A. I. C. C. office of figures of provincial quotas of delegates ...	30th September
6. Election of delegates in districts ...	14th December
7. Receipt of names of delegates by P. C. Cs. from districts ...	21st December
8. Receipt of lists of delegates by the A. I. C. C. office from the P. C. Cs.	3rd January
9. Meeting of delegates for electing the President	17th January
10. Receipt in the A. I. C. C. office of results of voting in the provinces in regard to the presidential election	24th January
11. Announcement of the election of the President	31st January
12. The Congress to meet ordinarily at the end of February.	

#### Change of Provincial Headquarters

With regard to change of provincial headquarters the Committee held that no such alteration could be recognised unless the previous sanction of the Working Committee had been obtained by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned.

The Committee directed that provincial committees requiring alteration of their headquarters should be asked to place their application before the Committee for sanction.

#### Rules of Procedure of A. I. C. C.

The following rules of procedure were recommended by the Committee for circulation and for being placed before the next meeting of the A. I. C. C. :—

1. The A. I. C. C. may be summoned by the President or one of the Secretaries to meet at any place within the country and as often as required by the Working Committee.
2. The notice of a meeting of the A. I. C. C. shall be issued at least fifteen days before the date of meeting except in case of emergency when a meeting may be summoned by a notice of seven days only.
3. The President and the Secretaries shall be sole judges of the occasion for summoning an emergent meeting.
4. The A. I. C. C. shall meet on a joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee by not less than fifteen members. Such requisition shall specify the purpose for which the requisitionists desire a meeting of the A. I. C. C. At such meeting additional items of business may be brought up for consideration provided due notice thereof has been given to the members.

#### Order of Business Etc.

5. In the order of business the draft resolutions of the Working Committee shall have the claim of priority.
6. The order for the rest of the business of the meeting shall be settled by the President.
7. The Working Committee shall assign at least one clear day for resolutions of which due notice may have been given by the members of the A. I. C. C. other than those of the Working Committee.
8. The order of precedence of resolutions by private members shall be determined by lot.
9. Notice of resolutions by private members should be given at least seven days before the meeting.
10. It shall be in the discretion of the President to allot the time for speakers moving either substantive propositions or amendments or generally taking part in the debate.

#### Resignation from A. I. C. C.

11. Resignation from the A. I. C. C. shall be placed before the President who will accept it and declare the place of the member on the A. I. C. C. vacant.
12. Any vacancy in the A. I. C. C. by death, resignation, removal of a member or otherwise will be filled up by the members of the Provincial Congress Committee by election from among themselves.

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**Recommendations for A. I. C. C.**

The Committee recommended items 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 in the proceedings of the A. I. C. C. which were adopted with a few alterations and amendments.

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**Appointments to Working Committee**

Shri Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, issued the following announcement to the Press on May 20, 1935 :—

"I appoint Sriyut Surendra Mohan Moitra and Sriyut Purushottamdas Tandon as members of the Working Committee of the Congress in the vacancies caused by the resignations of Dr. M. A. Ansari and Sriyut C. Rajagopalachari".

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**P R E S I D E N T ' S T O U R**

From the month of April last, the President of the Congress, Shri Rajendra Prasad, has undertaken a tour of some of the Congress provinces with a view to reorganise and strengthen the Congress organisation in those provinces. The other object of the tour is to popularise the new constitution of the Congress and to explain to the people the need of constructive effort at a time when the nation had suspended Civil Disobedience activities. The fight for Swaraj could never be suspended until the objective of the nation had been gained. If the Congress is to play, as it must, its expected part in the next phase of the national struggle, it must build up an organization at once efficient and capable of bearing strain.

The tour began with the Punjab in the first week of April and it was intended that the whole of the national Week would be devoted by the President to the Punjab. But unfortunately owing to a sudden breakdown of his health, the programme had to be dropped after his visit to Lahore.

In the third week of April, however, the President visited Jubbulpur in connection with the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and has since then visited the provinces of Berar, Karnatak, Maharashtra and Bombay one after another. In Berar, the President had to perform the opening of the Berar Provincial Political Conference held at Akola presided over by Pandit Govinda Vallabh Pant. Similarly, in Karnatak he opened the proceedings of the Karnatak Provincial Conference at Mangalore presided over by Sriyut Sri Prakasa of Benares.

In the course of this tour the President visited almost every place of importance in the provinces concerned covering more than 1,500 miles by car apart from the route traversed by train. Most of the places visited were villages where a Congress President is said to have gone for the first time. The following extracts from an interview given by the President to the Press will convey some idea of the tour and its effect on the provinces so far as Congress work is concerned. He said :—

"I had a very strenuous time. During my tour, I crossed and re-crossed the beautiful Western Ghats several times, and covered, I believe, more than 1,500 miles in car. I addressed more than 70 meetings, and met a large number of workers in Berar, Karnatak, and other parts of Maharashtra. In the Congress province of Karnataka, I included the Mysore State, and the small, but the beautiful province of Coorg. In Maharashtra, I included some of the Maharashtra States."

"If enthusiastic reception given to me, and the large meetings not only in large towns but in small taluka towns and even in the wayside villages are any indication of the genuine enthusiasm for the Congress and confidence in its programme, then I can say without any hesitation that the provinces I have visited are full of it.."

Continuing the President said :—"Some of the places I visited have had very hard times during the Civil Disobedience movement, but I found them none the worse for it, and people were as enthusiastic as in other provinces. In such places, some attempt is being made to give relief, but any relief can at the best be palliative and people have to stand upon their own legs. I am glad that the lesson has been learnt to a certain extent, and it rests with the workers to impress it still further on them."

The programme of tour so far arranged leads up to the end of June during which the President has to visit parts of Maharashtra and the Congress Provinces of Nagpur and Mahakoshal.

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**LIST OF BANNED ORGANISATIONS**

303

35.	Mairampur Congress Committee Union	No. 2	Naraingar	„
36.	Larma	„ No. 4	„	„
37.	Gopinathpur	„ No. 5	„	„
38.	Kantania Central	„ No. 7	„	„
39.	Belda	„ No. 9	„	„
40.	Raisarai Congress Office			„
41.	Dhaneswarpur Congress Association Union	No. 3	Pingla	„
42.	Karkai	„ No. 4	„	„
43.	Gobardhanpur	„ No. 7	„	„
44.	Pidrai Youth Association and Salishi Board Union	No. 8	„	„
45.	Jalchak Congress Office and Salishi Board	No. 9	„	„
46.	Anandapur Volunteer Camp		Keshpur	„

**2. Ghantal Subdivision :—**

47.	Chechua Hat Congress Office		Daspur	„
48.	Nischintipur Ghantal Congress Committee		Chandra Kona	„
49.	Kechkarpur		„*	„
50.	Goshaibazar Chandrakona Town Congress Committee		„	„
51.	Kuapur Congress Committee		„	„

**Tamluk Subdivision :—**

52.	Tamluk Subdivisional Congress Committee		Tamluk	„
53.	Tamluk Thana	„ Union No. 4	„	„
54.	Tamluk Boycott	„ 10	„	„
55.	Kolaghat	„ 12	„	„
56.	Rashgachtala	„ Union No. 13	„	„
57.	Hijalberia	„ Union	„	„
58.	Nimtauri	„ Union	„	„
59.	Dakshin Harkuli Mayna Thana Congress and Salishi Board	Union No. 1 Mayna	„	„
60.	Hijalbari Congress Committee		Tamluk	„
61.	Changrachak	„ Union No. 4 Mayna	„	„
62.	Asnan	„ 8	„	„
63.	Keshapat		Panchkura	„
64.	Jorapur		„	„
65.	Arjunda		„	„
66.	Khodambari	„ Union No. 9 Nandigram	„	„
67.	Turulbari	„ No. 13	„	„
68.	Babupur	„ No. 1 Sutahata	„	„
69.	Chaitanyapur Volunteer Camp		Sutahata P. S.	„
70.	Banbasudebpur Union Congress Committee Union	4	„	„
71.	Chakdwipa	6	„	„
72.	Chakdwip Volunteer Camp.	6	„	„
73.	Gnuabaria	8	„	„
74.	Basudebpur	9	„	„
75.	Guabaria Congress Committee	8	„	„
76.	Basudebpur	9	„	„
77.	Betkalla Office	4	Mahishadal	„
78.	Rajarampur	7	„	„
79.	Amritberia	9	„	„
80.	Nandakumar Congress Association	5	„	„
81.	Lakshya Committee	11	„	„

**4. Contai Sub-division :—**

82.	Banamali Branch Congress Office Union	No. 7	Contai	„
83.	Pichhabani Congress Committee	10	„	„
84.	Bandabassain	12	„	„
85.	Contai Subdivisional	15	„	„
86.	Mirjapur Branch	17	„	„
87.	Ajoya		Khajuri	„
88.	Ajanbari		„	„
89.	Balighai	6	" Agra	„
90.	Paniparul	No. 10	„	„
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## Searches, Arrests and Convictions

### **Campaign of Searches against Socialist Party**

The Police and the C. I. D. in Bihar, Lahore and Delhi were recently busy in connection with searches of residences of people connected with the Socialist Party. In Bihar it turned out to be a hunt for socialist literature. Even standard books as Cole on Money and a short Socialist Syllabus were taken possession of. The Proceedings Book of the Kisan Sabha—a Peasants' organisation, and all papers connected with the activities of the organisation were seized.

Simultaneously searches were carried out by the Police at half a dozen places at Lahore. Four persons were arrested in connection with Socialist activities. They raided the places on the strength of warrants issued under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Press Act. The arrested persons include members of the Punjab Socialist Party and the Balbharat Sabha.

Similarly, the office of the Delhi District Congress Committee and half a dozen other places were raided by the Police at Delhi on May 5 in connection, it is reported, with the distribution of the Congress Working Committee resolution regarding the Silver Jubilee and posters issued by the Praja Mandal (peasants' organisation).

### **Eighteen Months' R. I. for Sedition**

Mr. Nani Sen-Gupta was sentenced to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta on a charge of delivering a seditious speech in Cornwallis Square on December 24 under the auspices of the Bengal Youth League.

### **2 Years' R. I. for Sedition**

Syt. Shirdhar M. Joshi, a pleader (Bombay), was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment on a charge of sedition.

### **Congress Worker Arrested**

Pandit Lakshmi Narayan, a prominent Congress worker in Orissa was arrested while addressing a public meeting at Bhubaneswar held in pursuance of the appeal issued by the Congress President for the observance of the Detenues' Day. The President of the meeting was also arrested and let off after some time.

The Police was also reported to have seized all papers found in possession of the President and all articles in place of meeting including benches.

### **Internment Orders in Chittagong**

Some 150 young men of Chittagong were ordered to remain interned in their homes for a month, infringement of the order making them liable to a punishment of six months' rigorous imprisonment.

### **Congress Worker Interned**

Mr. N. Sanyal, a Congress worker, was arrested on the 6th. instant, and served with an internment order prohibiting him from leaving the Faridpur District.

### **Arrests under Terrorist Suppression Act**

The special police arrested Jitendra Nath Karmakar of Dinajpur, Bachanlal, an employee of R. C. Kahanchand, 212 Cross Street, Calcutta, Surj Ram Teli of Keshoria in Matihari District, Saraju Ram Ghatwar of Parais in Dumka Dist., and Baldeo Hazam of Mahua in Muzaffarpur District under section 81 of the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act 1932–34 and the Darjeeling Deputy Commissioner's Order dated March 18 for coming to Siliguri without necessary passport. The arrested persons were ignorant villagers, artisans or menial servants of their employees and evidently had no knowledge that the district of Darjeeling was a prohibited area for the Hindus.

### **The Congress under Surveillance at Ahmedabad**

The District Magistrate of Ahmedabad issued a circular to all the police officers in the district asking them to minutely observe and report all activities of Congress organisations in the district.

The circulation enjoined the police officers to note the number of Congress organisations in their respective jurisdictions, whether those organisations possessed buildings of their own, the total number of Congress members, the addresses of workers, the nature of response of the people to Congress activities and the progress of work in the villages.

## Searches, Arrests and Convictions

### Campaign of Searches against Socialist Party

The Police and the C. I. D. in Bihar, Lahore and Delhi were recently busy in connection with searches of residences of people connected with the Socialist Party. In Bihar it turned out to be a hunt for socialist literature. Even standard books as Cole on Money and a short Socialist Syllabus were taken possession of. The Proceedings Book of the Kisan Sabha—a Peasants' organisation, and all papers connected with the activities of the organisation were seized.

Simultaneously searches were carried out by the Police at half a dozen places at Lahore. Four persons were arrested in connection with Socialist activities. They raided the places on the strength of warrants issued under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Press Act. The arrested persons include members of the Punjab Socialist Party and the Balbharat Sabha.

Similarly, the office of the Delhi District Congress Committee and half a dozen other places were raided by the Police at Delhi on May 5 in connection, it is reported, with the distribution of the Congress Working Committee resolution regarding the Silver Jubilee and posters issued by the Praja Mandal (peasants' organisation).

### Eighteen Months' R. I. for Sedition

Mr. Nani Sen-Gupta was sentenced to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta on a charge of delivering a seditious speech in Cornwallis Square on December 24 under the auspices of the Bengal Youth League.

### 2 Years' R. I. for Sedition

Syt. Shirdhar M. Joshi, a pleader (Bombay), was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment on a charge of sedition.

### Congress Worker Arrested

Pandit Lakshmi Narayan, a prominent Congress worker in Orissa was arrested while addressing a public meeting at Bhubaneswar held in pursuance of the appeal issued by the Congress President for the observance of the Dootenues' Day. The President of the meeting was also arrested and let off after some time.

The Police was also reported to have seized all papers found in possession of the President and all articles in place of meeting including benches.

### Internment Orders in Chittagong

Some 150 young men of Chittagong were ordered to remain interned in their homes for a month, infringement of the order making them liable to a punishment of six months' rigorous imprisonment.

### Congress Worker Interned

Mr. N. Sanyal, a Congress worker, was arrested on the 6th. instant, and served with an internment order prohibiting him from leaving the Faridpur District.

### Arrests under Terrorist Suppression Act

The special police arrested Jitendra Nath Karmakar of Dinajpur, Bachanlal, an employee of R. C. Kahanchand, 212 Cross Street, Calcutta, Surj Ram Teli of Keshoria in Matihari District, Saraju Ram Ghatwar of Parais in Dumka Dist., and Baldeo Hazam of Mahua in Muzaffarpur District under section 81 of the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act 1932–34 and the Darjeeling Deputy Commissioner's Order dated March 18 for coming to Siliguri without necessary passport. The arrested persons were ignorant villagers, artisans or menial servants of their employees and evidently had no knowledge that the district of Darjeeling was a prohibited area for the Hindus.

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## THE DARJEELING RESTRICTIONS

(a) such person shall, if so required, afford all reasonable facilities for ascertaining whether such person is a Hindu young person in possession of the pass or identity card required by these rules, to the following officers, namely :—

- (i) all Magistrates :—
- (ii) all Commissioned Military officers, and
- (iii) all Police officers not below the rank of Assistant Sub-Inspector or Head Constable :

(b) such person, if travelling in a Motor vehicle, shall, if called upon to do so by any officer mentioned in clause (a) of this order, stop such vehicle or cause it to be stopped and afford to the officer such facilities as are mentioned in that clause.

The public have been informed that, under Section 3 of Bengal Act XII of 1932, any officer referred to in clause (a) of the above order has power to require any person whom such officer on reasonable grounds suspects to be acting or about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or peace to give an account of himself, and may further arrest and detain such person.

3. No Hindu young person shall enter the Darjeeling District without complying with the following conditions, namely :—

(a) the young person shall come provided with two photographs of himself or herself, each certified by an officer of the district in which the young person ordinarily resides of rank not lower than that of Deputy Magistrate, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Deputy Superintendent of Police, or (in Calcutta) of Deputy Commissioner of Police and Assistant Commissioner of Police ;

(b) every such person shall report himself at Siliguri or Teesta Bridge before proceeding to his destination.

(c) on arrival at Siliguri or Teesta Bridge, the young person shall report to the officer in charge of the special police posts which will be situated at those places, and shall apply to such officer for and obtain a pass (which shall be valid for 7 days only) authorising the young person to enter the district :

(d) in order to obtain such pass the young person shall supply the officer in charge with one of the photographs referred to in clause (a) of this order which will be attached to the pass ;

(e) the young person shall enter in writing at the special police post in a book maintained for the purpose (or, if illiterate, shall supply verbally for entry by the officer in charge) such particulars of the young person's identity, occupation and past and proposed movements as may be required by the officer in charge ; and shall sign (or, if illiterate, attest by thumb impression) such entry.

4. No Hindu young person shall remain in the Darjeeling district without complying with the following conditions, namely :—

(a) the young person, unless in possession of a valid pass, shall be in possession of and carry an identity card issued by the officer in charge of the police-station at Siliguri, Teesta Bridge, Kurseong, Darjeeling or Kalimpong ;

(b) when applying for an identity card, the young person shall produce the pass obtained at Siliguri or Teesta Bridge and shall also supply the officer-in-charge with a second photograph certified in the manner referred to in clause (a) of order 3 or by an officer in charge Darjeeling district of rank not lower than that of Deputy Magistrate or Deputy Superintendent of Police. The second photograph will be attached to the identity card. The temporary pass will be retained by the officer in charge and :

(c) the young person shall not enter or leave any railway station without showing to any Police officer who may require it a valid pass or identity card held by such person.

5. Every owner, or occupier in control of any hospital, sanitarium, school, hotel, boarding house or hostel shall without delay supply to the officer in charge of the nearest police station full particulars of the arrival or departure of any Hindu at or from such hospital, sanitarium, school, hotel, boarding house or hostel, and if so required by the officer in charge, any further information within his knowledge relating to such Hindu.

6. The Deputy Commissioner may by order in writing exempt any person from all or any of these orders :

Provided that such exemption shall be conditional on the person exempted carrying with him the written order of exemption and producing the same when required to do so by any officer entitled under these rules to require production of a pass or identity card.

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sympathy with persons detained under Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930 or under the Regulations of 1818. I have also read the Government communique justifying the Government action. The Detenue Day was intended to protest against the detention of large number of persons without trial by a court of law and without any opportunity being given to them to meet any charges that the Government may prefer against them. It is one of the recognised canons of civilised jurisprudence that a man should be held to be innocent until he has been proved to be guilty, and the whole country has felt the injustice of a lawless law which reverses the ordinary rules of justice and fairplay. The enormity of the act is felt all the more merely because the number of persons so detained is very large and even more so because their detention is for unlimited periods and has extended in many cases to years. The sympathy which the sufferings of detenues have evoked has been intense and wide-spread and it is but natural that the country should demand their release or in the alternative an open trial in ordinary courts of law. The Day was fixed to give expression to this feeling. It was also intended to collect funds for the relief of the families and dependents of the Detenues who in many cases were the sole or principal bread winners for them. As the Government themselves recognise this action was actuated by purely humanitarian motives and the funds collected would be spent strictly for the purpose mentioned. The sympathy expressed with the detenues and their families and dependents does not and cannot mean sympathy with terrorism. The Government are nervous that expression of sympathy with detenues will inevitably stimulate and encourage terrorists." That the sympathy is there is admitted by the Government and the Government are themselves to blame for it as they have detained them without trial. They cannot deprive the Detenues of this sympathy by preventing its expression so long as they refuse to bring them to trial, if they are not prepared to release them and are convinced about the strength of their case.

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## THE ASSEMBLY ACTIVITIES

### Refusal of Supplies to Army Department

On a motion moved by Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury, Deputy Leader of the Independent Party, the Assembly refused supplies to the Army Department by reducing its demand to Re. 1. The motion was carried by 79 against 48 votes.

Sardar Mangal Singh, a Sikh member from the Punjab, agreed with the argument that it was an insult to Indian soldiers to be told that British troops formed the backbone of the army in India. He said that from personal talks with Indian soldiers and Indian officers he knew that they were smarting under the stamp of inferiority.

Mr. Tottenham said Government never thought of completely Indianizing the army, so the department could not be blamed for not pursuing that policy. He, however, assured the House that in 1952 the department would be in a position to say whether Indians were fit for leading the army and then only could the proposal of abandonment of British recruitment be seriously considered. The House was in no mood, however, to entertain any such plea and the motion was carried as stated above.

### Executive Council Demand Carried

Syt. Bhulabhai Desai's motion to reduce the demand of the Executive Council to one rupee was defeated by the Assembly by a majority of two votes. The result was achieved by some Muslim members of the Independent Party voting with the Government, in the absence of Mr. Jinnah, the Leader of the Party.

### Adjournment Motion

An adjournment motion, moved by Mr. K. L. Gauba, over the Karachi firing was carried in the Assembly by 67 votes to 52.

### Restoration of Railway Board and Army Cuts

Sir James Grigg announced in the Assembly (25th. March) that the Governor-General had restored the cuts made by the Assembly on the demands on the Railway

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What was the failure due to? Sir Fazl-i-Hussain's answer is illuminating. He said—"the task was a hopeless one, as there was a conflict of interest. India is a part of Asia, and Asia is not Europe, and the discrimination proposed is against all Asiatics."

### **Rejection of Customs Demand**

Sir James Grigg moved a supplementary demand for grant amounting to 11 lakhs in respect of customs, but the demand was rejected by 54 to 53 votes.

### **Refusal of Supplies for Transfer of Pusa Institute**

The Assembly rejected by 72 votes to 52 the supplementary demand of 36 lakhs for the transfer of the Pusa Research Institute, only seven elected Indian members voting with the Government.

### **Reduction of Salt Duty**

The Assembly adopted by 63 votes to 55 Shri A. Iyengar's motion reducing the Salt Duty from Re. 1-4-0 to twelve annas.

### **Export Duty on Raw Skins**

Shri A. Iyengar moved that the duty on skins proposed to be abolished in the Bill should remain, as the abolition would kill the tanning industry of Madras, Bombay and Cawnpore and put nearly 3 million men out of employment.

The House divided and Shri Ananthasayana Iyengar's amendment was carried by 61 votes to 60.

### **Reduction of Postal Rates**

The following three amendments with regard to this were carried by the Assembly the voting being 80 to 35, 79 to 44 and 84 to 39 respectively.

1. Prof. Ranga's amendment reducing the rate on letters not exceeding one tola to one anna and on letters exceeding one tola but not exceeding 2 and a half tolas to one and a quarter anna.

2. Shri B. K. Das's amendment reducing the rate on single and reply post cards to two pice and one anna respectively.

3. Mr. F. E. James' amendment reducing the rates on Book, Pattern and Sample packets as follows :

For a weight not exceeding two and half tolas, six pies. For a weight exceeding two and a half tolas but not exceeding five tolas, nine pies.

For every additional five tolas or fraction thereof, six pies.

In the voting on these amendments, the European bloc and several nominated members combined with the opposition as against the Government.

### **Raising of Income-Tax Level**

Mr. Muhammad Ahmad Kasim moved an amendment to the Finance Bill purporting to relieve persons having an income below Rs. 2,000 from income-tax assessment. His point was that the decrease of taxable income from 2000 to 1000 per year was an emergency imposition and should be removed when the salary cut had been restored.

The House divided and the amendment was carried by 73 to 42 votes.

### **Viceroy's Message to the Assembly on Finance Bill**

The President, Sir Abdur Rahim, read the following message from the Governor-General :—

"The Finance Bill as introduced in the Assembly, contained provisions designed to reduce taxation to the maximum extent possible within our existing resources and incidentally to provide some benefit to the agriculturist by removing the bar on the

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These two Talukas of Siddapur and Ankola in the district of Karwar were the centres of the no-tax campaign in 1932-34.

The suffering of the peasants being very acute, the Council of the Karnatak P. C. C. appointed a Committee with Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande as Chairman to tour the affected areas and submit a report. The report of the Committee more than confirmed the accounts about the pitiable condition of the heroic peasants.

The Committee contemplated two kinds of relief, temporary and permanent. Temporary relief was to be in the nature of food and clothing to be given immediately to utterly destitute families. Permanent relief was the securing of lands and houses for those who had lost their all, so that they might have shelter and something to labour upon for their livelihood.

The Committee appointed two local Committees, one for Siddapur and another for Ankola for the organisation and distribution of relief. The rate of immediate relief was fixed at rupees two to three for adults and a little less for children per month. Only such families were chosen in both the areas as had absolutely nothing to fall back upon. The Committee also decided to support by grants the two relief Ashrams at Karwar and Shimoga for sheltering the children of the destitute farmers of Siddapur.

The Committee had several schemes of permanent relief none of which could be properly undertaken on account of inadequacy of funds. The Committee, however, has been helping the peasants to the utmost of its capacity in the following directions : (1) Assistance to ryots incapacitated by old age ; (2) Securing lands to certain destitute and helpless families ; (3) Helping and encouraging peasants to migrate ; (4) Securing garden lands for Siddapur peasants.

Shri R. R. Diwakar and Shri D. P. Karmarkar, the Secretary and a prominent member respectively of the Kanara Farmers Relief Committee, have been recently prohibited by the District Magistrate of Kanara by an order under Section III of the Special Powers' Act from entering the district. They have thus been deprived of the opportunity of rendering the necessary humanitarian help to the unfortunate cultivators who have lost their all.

## HARIJAN SEWAK SANGHA

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Harijan Sewak Sangh was held in Calcutta on April 27, 28 and 29, 1935.

The following among the more important resolutions adopted by the Committee :—

### 1. Calcutta Tannery

Resolved that (a) the Cottage Tanning Institute opened by the Bengal Provincial Board at Calcutta be also used as a Training Centre for master tanners and that the course of training should be extended from 12 months to 18 months, 3 months being passed at the Dayal Bagh or any other approved Tannery ; (b) the course of studies, qualifications for admission and daily routine of work etc. in the tannery be fixed by Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta in consultation with Prof. N. R. Malkani ; (c) a grant of Rs. 1,000 (one thousand) only be sanctioned by the Central Board for meeting losses incurred on production upto date, and another sum of Rs. 1,000 (one thousand) only be sanctioned as an advance out of the Bengal Purse Fund quota for improving and extending the chemical laboratory, started in connection with the Tannery ; (d) that applications for admission to the Cottage Tanning Institute be invited through the various Provincial Boards so that training courses may begin on 1st June, 1935 and that provision be made in the Tannery for the admission of ten students, this year ; (e) that the expenses incurred by the students under training on account of lodging, boarding and railway fare be equally shared by the Central Board with the Provincial Board, provided the respective Provincial Boards take steps to prepare schemes for opening Provincial Tanneries in select places and the persons deputed for training undertake to manage such Provincial Tanneries for at least two years on a reasonable monthly salary after training.

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Resolved that (a) the Cottage Tanning Institute opened by the Bengal Provincial Board at Calcutta be also used as a Training Centre for master tanners and that the course of training should be extended from 12 months to 18 months, 3 months being passed at the Dayal Bagh or any other approved Tannery ; (b) the course of studies, qualifications for admission and daily routine of work etc. in the tannery be fixed by Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta in consultation with Prof. N. R. Malkani ; (c) a grant of Rs. 1,000 (one thousand) only be sanctioned by the Central Board for meeting losses incurred on production upto date, and another sum of Rs. 1,000 (one thousand) only be sanctioned as an advance out of the Bengal Purse Fund quota for improving and extending the chemical laboratory, started in connection with the Tannery ; (d) that applications for admission to the Cottage Tanning Institute be invited through the various Provincial Boards so that training courses may begin on 1st June, 1935 and that provision be made in the Tannery for the admission of ten students, this year ; (e) that the expenses incurred by the students under training on account of lodging, boarding and railway fare be equally shared by the Central Board with the Provincial Board, provided the respective Provincial Boards take steps to prepare schemes for opening Provincial Tanneries in select places and the persons deputed for training undertake to manage such Provincial Tanneries for at least two years on a reasonable monthly salary after training.

Proceedings of

**The Anti-Communal Award**

and

**The Communal Award Conferences**

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Hakim Ajmal Khan a Hindu? I was present when he repudiated with warmth if not scorn the suggestion of some fellow-Muslims that while retaining weightage in other provinces Muslims must have a majority fixed by statute in Bengal and the Punjab. He cried that a proposal so manifestly one-sided and so utterly unreasonable hurt his self-respect as a Muslim and he would openly dissociate himself from it. Why then are the poor Hindus singled out for blame?

The truth as I see it is that all attempts at a settlement failed because of the assurance in the Muslim mind that the British were behind them and they need not yield to the counsels of reason and justice. I ask you to tell me this. If in a suit before a court of law the plaintiff has foreknowledge that the trying judge for any reason is biased in his favour, would he ever come to terms with the defendant? The judge might declare from the bench in all solemnity that the subject matter of the dispute is one eminently fit for settlement out of court, but if the plaintiff has reason to expect a decree with costs in his favour, why on earth should he forego any part of his exaggerated claim? In the present case the British Government encouraged the Muslim deputation of 1906, the Viceroy committed himself against territorial and in favour of communal representation without waiting to hear a word on the other side,—in fact almost without the other party knowing what was happening,—agitation in favour of separate electorates was countenanced when the Secretary of State betrayed unreadiness to allow them, and the Government, in the face of strong adverse agitation committed themselves to the novel pledge that separate electorates would be kept up for as long as the Muslims wanted and would not be abolished except by their leave—as if no non-Muslims had a stake in the country,—and Muslims of Nationalist opinions were kept at arm's length in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference.

Another quotation from the speech of Raja Narendranath delivered in London in December 1930 is well worth reproduction here:

I am charged with being a communalist. Who am I? I am a minority in my province. And as a minority what do I want? Nothing. Do I want protection in any form? No. Do I want a separate electorate? No. Do I want reservation with or without weightage? I ask for no more than that such artificial aids should not be given to the majority against me. For myself, a minority as I am, I am ready to take my chance in free competition with the majority. It is the majority which has no confidence in itself and wants every manner of communal arrangement. And yet it is praised for its nationalism while I, a minority who wants no protection, am held up as a communalist!

The following contention by the President that the Hindu Community, being the majority community, can well afford to pose as nationalists is not justified by the facts, is deserving of note.

A distinguished Muslim publicist now no more, alleged that it was easy for Hindus as the majority community to pose as nationalists and object to measures of minority protection on nationalist grounds. But I ask, first, whether the Hindus of Bengal and the Punjab are the majority community in their respective provinces and whether they have asked for concessions such as minorities elsewhere and majorities in those very provinces have been insisting upon. I ask next whether Hindus where they are the majority have objected to the adequate representation of minorities in those provinces. They have only objected to the division of the electorate into watertight compartments. Have a common register, and reserve for minorities which are large enough and important enough seats in adequate number to ensure not only that they are elected but that may not be a mere negligible factor in the legislature. Let us have joint electorates and I am certain that I can say in the name of you all, fellow-delegates, that weightage to Muslim minorities in provinces shall have our support, as it has had since 1916. I emphasize the word minorities as it is absurd to talk of protection for majorities.

The position of Bengal Congressmen re: the so-called Award was made clear by the following reply sent to Mr. Subhas Bose's communication from Genoa—

As regards the Communal Award we maintain there is practically no difference of opinion among the Congressmen in Bengal. Every Congressman considers it anti-national, inequitous and undemocratic and thinks that it should be rejected along with the J. P. C. Report."

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# The Anti-Communal Award Conference

**Opening Day—New Delhi—23rd. February 1935**

The All-India Anti-Communal 'Award' Conference opened at New Delhi on the **23rd. February 1935**. About 1,500 men and women of all communities, mostly Hindus, and Sikhs were present, among them being most Nationalist M. L. A's, Mr. P. N. Sapru, Mr. Chari, Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan, Mr. Hossain Imam, Raja Narendra Nath and Thakore Chandan Singh, president, All-India Gurka League.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya proposed Mr. Chintamani to the chair and Sardar Mangal Singh. Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee and Mr. Abdus Samad seconded and supported the motion.

Mr. Abdus Samad said that there was nothing objectionable from the Muslim point of view in Mr. Chintamani's views. Therefore he was the fittest person to preside.

Messages wishing the conference success were read from Sir Hari Singh Gour, Mr. Tambe, ex-Governor, C. P., Mr. Kelkar, Raja Sir Rampal Singh, Mr. Raliaram and Mr. Das, leaders of Christians of Lahore and Bihar respectively and others.

## THE WELCOME ADDRESS

*Dr. A. C. Sen*, Chairman, reception committee, read the address welcoming the delegates. In the course of his speech Dr. Sen said :—

Communal electorates in India date back to 1909 when separate electorates were provided for Mahomedans who retained their right to vote also in the general electorate. The Aga Khan deputation in 1906 and the Amir Ali deputation in 1908 demanded separate representation for Mahomedans as a result of which the Morley Scheme for a joint electorate and reservation of seats was turned down. In 1916 came the Lucknow Pact which embodied an agreed settlement between the Hindu and Muslim communities. It provided for separate electorates for Mahomedans who ceased to vote in general constituencies. The Muslims were represented through special electorates in the provincial legislatures in the following proportions :—

Punjab one-half of the elected Indian members.

U. P. 30 p. c.; Bengal 40 p. c.; Bihar 25 p. c.; C. P. 15 p. c.; Madras 15 p. c.; Bombay one-third of the elected Indian members.

It provided that one-third of the elected Indian members in the Imperial Legislative Council should be Muslims elected by a separate Mahomedan electorate.

The Lucknow Pact formed the basis of communal representation in the October of 1919 providing for separate electorates for separate communities and separate interests.

The Simon Commission in 1930 recommended the continuation of communal electorates on the basis of the Lucknow Pact in the absence of a new agreement, with no statutory majority in Bengal or the Punjab or the alternative electorate by mutual consent in Bengal and the Punjab. It further did not provide for a separate electorate for the depressed classes but allowed representation to them through reservation of seats. The despatch of the Government of India on the report of the Simon Commission agreed with the Commission in this respect and recommended communal electorates for Muslims, Sikhs, Anglo-Indians and adequate representation only for depressed classes.

## ENCOURAGEMENT TO COMMUNALISTS

The Government of India, however, were in favour of giving a larger percentage of seats in the legislatures than those recommended by the Commission. The All-India Muslim Conference (Delhi) encouraged by this partial surrender on the part of the Government of India pitched its demand still higher and asked for responsibility in the centre separate electorates; an adequate share of Muslims in the public services; adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim education, religion etc., making Sind a separate province; 33 per cent Muslim representation in central legislatures, etc. In 1931 the working committee of the Congress after the lapse of Nehru Report assured the Muslims and Sikhs full satisfaction in arriving at a settlement for any future constitution. The Round Table Conference in 1930 and 1931 sat but failed to find a common formula. The Consultation Committee later in Delhi met with a similar fate. On the failure of the communities to come to an agreement

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## A GREAT CANKER

Communalism ia a great canker which is eating into the vitals of the body politic. It has been the perpetual stumbling block in the path of national progress, and is to be a sure menace to the working of any constitution based upon the principles of democracy and nationalism.

I appeal to all the communities to sink all domestic differences, close up the ranks ; stand together as comrades determined to win freedom and realize our common destiny.

## The Presidential Address

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by the President, Mr. C. V. Chintamani :—

I thank you for the honour you have done me and the confidence you have reposed in me by asking me to take the chair at this important Conference. I realize my responsibility in the difficult situation in which for no fault of ours we find ourselves placed. Nothing would have been more gratifying to our feelings than if there had been no necessity for such a conference. We all are for national unity and communal concord as ends in themselves not less than as means to the larger end of Swaraj for the Motherland. It would be a libel if any one alleged that we wantonly kept up strife, for we are neither idiots nor traitors. Unfortunately, however, we sometimes hear people talk as if any manifestation on the part of Hindus of a realization of the great position and the legitimate interests of the ancient community, to which it is their pride and their honour to belong, were an unpardonable crime, whereas a demonstration which the like object made by any non-Hindu community—excepting perhaps the Sikhs—was nothing but an intelligible and even commendable expression of patriotism. Among the Hindus an exception is sometimes made of the unfortunately numerous but artificially multiplied section who have come to be known as the depressed classes as thereby it is thought that they can be kept segregated from nationalist influences. The meaning and purpose of the attitude of impatience, suspicion and hostility which is our portion at the hands of persons in authority are not obscure. We know where we stand and what we stand for and mean to adhere to our convictions and our principles, say what ill-wishers will, and we shall carry on the work before us, as we see it, undeterred by the frowns of authority and undismayed by the antics of non-nationalists who vainly think to promote nationalism by declining to fight communalism. Let it not be thought that we lull ourselves into the self-comforting belief that success is within easy reach of us. No, we are painfully aware of the many and serious obstacles which keep success distant from us and of the hard and weary and thankless effort that is the heavy price that has to be paid for its achievement. Our Conference to-day in this imperial metropolis—I have a prejudice against imperialism in every one of its aspects—is evidence of our determination not to accept settled facts when they remain unsettled questions and not to rest idly content when Duty calls us trumpet-tongued to employ every legitimate means in an unceasing effort to undo wrong and to vindicate justice and nationalism. It is certain that we shall not achieve immediate or easy success. It is probable that long, very long, and harder still will have to be the effort which will be crowned with success. I do not exclude the possibility of ultimate failure. But what is success ? A beautiful and meaningful definition of the word is that it is but the name given to the last of a series of failures. Besides, does not success lie in the moral qualities that every effort in a righteous cause never fails to generate and to quicken into action ? In any event our Duty is clear and plain, humbly and reverently to bear in mind and to follow the Divine teaching—

## 'COMMUNAL AWARD' A MISNOMER

Ladies and gentlemen, we who are assembled here are delegates to the All-India Anti-Communal Award Conference. There is here a misnomer or a terminological inexactitude but the responsibility is not ours, we have loyally copied the error of our rulers ! The decision of his Majesty's Government in England against which we protest and which we decline to accept as final is not an arbitral award and therefore does not deserve the name, while it is much more than merely communal.

How could the head of the British Government make an 'award' in his individual capacity ? Suppose his colleagues in the Government did not approve of his 'award' how could it be carried into effect ? Consultation by him with his colleagues and the approval of his 'award' by majority of them would in any case be a condition precedent of the announcement of his award. The Secretary of State for India is one of those colleagues and he only states his opinion after ascertaining the views of the

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Countess who was the consort of the Viceroy who was the author of the evil. "The Mahomedans were the first to formulate and put forward their aspirations," wrote Lady Minto. In her diary of Oct. 1, 1906, the fateful day of the historic deputation headed by his Highness the Aga Khan, she made a long entry from which I quote an extract. (See app. I.) Whether the Deputation was spontaneous or suggested, cannot be positively affirmed by me; it should be said, however, that there is a general belief that its father was a high-placed officer of the Government of India. Who that marks the language of Lord Minto's speech can fail to see his lordships' evident satisfaction at receiving a request for a system of election eventually calculated to undo much of the good of the reforms then proposed? Mr. Buchan in his Life of Lord Minto quoted from a letter of Lord Morley's saying that the Muslims were as far as he could go in understanding orientals. The Indian National Congress never approved of the electoral arrangements brought into being under the Councils Act of 1909. The bad system was persisted in, and extended in some provinces to local bodies, and Congress itself so far lost hope of success in undoing the mischief that it compromised with evil in 1916 by giving its consent to the scheme of separate electorates. Mr. Montagu, who became Secretary of State six months later, and Lord Chelmsford did not approve of separate electorates, but did not think that they could go behind the agreement in that behalf between Congress and the Muslim League. Among British officials in India at the time there was no unanimous opinion in favour of the scheme. I myself heard one of them, who has since risen to a very eminent position and but lately retired, say to his colleagues of one of the Montagu committees of 1918, "How can you expect people to whom you give more than they ought to have, themselves to come forward and surrender it? It is not in human nature to do so". What Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford would have proposed, consistently with their published opinion, in the absence of the Congress-League agreement of 1916, is one of the unrecorded secrets of history about which it is useless for us to speculate at this distance of time. The consequences of the Lucknow Pact of that year are a warning which it is not prudence to disregard, of the unwisdom of hasty departures from principle for the sake of seeming and passing gain. Well did the poet and prophet of Indian nationalism say—

If something is sincerely believed to be wrong, to yield on that point for the sake of compromise does not in my opinion make for a lasting peace. Concession to unjust demand and undue advantage, whether personal or communal, is equally a mistaken policy. It only whets one's appetite and makes one clamour for more and in the end we are left just from where we started or the position becomes even worse. The Lucknow Pact was a mistake. No such short cut has the chance of achieving a better result to-day. Dr. (Robindranath Tagore)

I am free to confess, ladies and gentlemen, that a smile, at once incredulous and irreverent, is forced to the lips when one hears solemn asseverations of complete British disinterestedness in the treatment of India's communal problem. Mr. Gokhale once said to me; "He makes a mistake who thinks that India's political struggle is a duel between the British and Indians. It is more of a triangular fight among the British, Hindus and Muslims." He added that Euclid's proposition was not less true in politics than in geometry, that any two sides of a triangle are greater than the third. The natural thing would be for Hindus and Muslims to make common cause in the service of their common Motherland. Unfortunately this has not always happened: I will not pause to attempt an apportionment of blame for the regrettable result. And human nature being what it is, the third party, eager to remain their adverse possession, have acted as interest dictated. Every student of Indian polities knows what was said by writers like Sir John Strachey and Sir Lepel Griffin. Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, said more than eighty years ago, "*Devide et impera*" was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours." Mr. Mamsay MacDonald himself, in his unregenerate radical days of publicist—he was not then the nominal head of a tory yeapt National Government—called attention, in his *Awakening of India* to the suspicion that sinister influences have been and are at work on the part of the Government: that Mahomedan leaders have been and are inspired by certain British officials, and that these officials have pulled and will continue to pull wires at Simla and in London and of malice aforethought sow discord between the Mahomedan and Hindu communities by showing to the Mahomedans special favours.

Lord Olivier said after a term of office as Secretary of State:

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Countess who was the consort of the Viceroy who was the author of the evil. "The Mahomedans were the first to formulate and put forward their aspirations," wrote Lady Minto. In her diary of Oct. 1, 1906, the fateful day of the historic deputation headed by his Highness the Aga Khan, she made a long entry from which I quote an extract. (See app. I.) Whether the Deputation was spontaneous or suggested, cannot be positively affirmed by me; it should be said, however, that there is a general belief that its father was a high-placed officer of the Government of India. Who that marks the language of Lord Minto's speech can fail to see his lordships' evident satisfaction at receiving a request for a system of election effectually calculated to undo much of the good of the reforms then proposed? Mr. Buchan in his Life of Lord Minto quoted from a letter of Lord Morley's saying that the Muslims were as far as he could go in understanding orientals. The Indian National Congress never approved of the electoral arrangements brought into being under the Councils Act of 1909. The bad system was persisted in, and extended in some provinces to local bodies, and Congress itself so far lost hope of success in undoing the mischief that it compromised with evil in 1916 by giving its consent to the scheme of separate electorates. Mr. Montagu, who became Secretary of State six months later, and Lord Chelmsford did not approve of separate electorates, but did not think that they could go behind the agreement in that behalf between Congress and the Muslim League. Among British officials in India at the time there was no unanimous opinion in favour of the scheme. I myself heard one of them, who has since risen to a very eminent position and but lately retired, say to his colleagues of one of the Montagu committees of 1918, "How can you expect people to whom you give more than they ought to have, themselves to come forward and surrender it? It is not in human nature to do so". What Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford would have proposed, consistently with their published opinion, in the absence of the Congress-League agreement of 1916, is one of the unrecorded secrets of history about which it is useless for us to speculate at this distance of time. The consequences of the Lucknow Pact of that year are a warning which it is not prudence to disregard, of the unwisdom of hasty departures from principle for the sake of seeming and passing gain. Well did the poet and prophet of Indian nationalism say—

If something is sincerely believed to be wrong, to yield on that point for the sake of compromise does not in my opinion make for a lasting peace. Concession to unjust demand and undue advantage, whether personal or communal, is equally a mistaken policy. It only whets one's appetite and makes one clamour for more and in the end we are left just from where we started or the position becomes even worse. The Lucknow Pact was a mistake. No such short cut has the chance of achieving a better result to-day. *Dr. (Robindranath Tagore)*

I am free to confess, ladies and gentlemen, that a smile, at once incredulous and irreverent, is forced to the lips when one hears solemn asseverations of complete British disinterestedness in the treatment of India's communal problem. Mr. Gokhale once said to me; "He makes a mistake who thinks that India's political struggle is a duel between the British and Indians. It is more of a triangular fight among the British, Hindus and Muslims." He added that Euclid's proposition was not less true in politics than in geometry, that any two sides of a triangle are greater than the third. The natural thing would be for Hindus and Muslims to make common cause in the service of their common Motherland. Unfortunately this has not always happened: I will not pause to attempt an apportionment of blame for the regrettable result. And human nature being what it is, the third party, eager to remain their adverse possession, have acted as interest dictated. Every student of Indian polities knows what was said by writers like Sir John Strachey and Sir Lepel Griffin. Lord Elphinstone Governor of Bombay, said more than eighty years ago, "*Devide et impera* was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours." Mr. Mamsay MacDonald himself, in his unregenerate radical days of publicist—he was not then the nominal head of a tory yeoman National Government—called attention, in his *Awakening of India* to the suspicion that sinister influences have been and are at work on the part of the Government; that Mahomedan leaders have been and are inspired by certain British officials, and that these officials have pulled and will continue to pull wires at Simla and in London and of malice aforethought sow discord between the Mahomedan and Hindu communities by showing to the Mahomedans special favours.

Lord Olivier said after a term of office as Secretary of State:

No one with a close acquaintance with Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British officialdom in favour of the Mos-

(or diplomaniacs if you will), I utter the deliberate conviction that the Hindus have been and are sinned against much more than sinning and that it was not their sinister object at any time to keep down non-Hindus and grab at everything for their sole benefit. If there is a Hindu here or there who harbours such an unneighbourly and antinational thought, we do not own him, we do not apologize for him. Our policy is 'Live and let live'. We wish all communities well, we wish all to advance and to prosper, and we want Swaraj for the equal benefit, and the equal satisfaction of the self-respect of all the communities that together make up the great Indian nation. Was the late lamented Hakim Ajmal Khan a Hindu? I was present when he repudiated with warmth if not scorn the suggestion of some fellow-Muslims that while retaining weightage in other provinces Muslims must have a majority fixed by statute in Bengal and the Punjab. He cried that a proposal so manifestly one-sided and so utterly unreasonable hurt his self-respect as a Muslim and he would openly dissociate himself from it. Why then are the poor Hindus singled out for blame?

The truth as I see it is that all attempts at a settlement failed because of the assurance in the Muslim mind that the British were behind them and they need not yield to the counsels of reason and justice. I ask you to tell me this. If in a suit before a court of law the plaintiff has foreknowledge that the trying judge for any reason is biased in his favour would he ever come to terms with the defendant? The judge might declare from the bench in all solemnity that the subject-matter of the dispute is one eminently fit for settlement out of court, but if the plaintiff has reason to expect a decree with costs in his favour, why on earth should he forego any part of his exaggerated claim? In the present case the British Government encouraged the Muslim deputation of 1906, the Viceroy committed himself against territorial and in favour of communal representation without waiting to hear a word on the other side,—in fact almost without the other party knowing what was happening,—agitation in favour of separate electorates was countenanced when the Secretary of State betrayed unreasonableness to allow them, and the Government, in the face of strong adverse agitation committed themselves to the novel pledge that separate electorates would be kept up for as long as the Muslims wanted and would not be abolished except by their leave—as if no non-Moslems had a stake in the country,—and Muslims of Nationalist opinions were kept at arm's length in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference. That at least some members of the British Delegation to the Round Table Conference were not completely taken by surprise by the singing of the so-called Minorities Pact at the second Round Table Conference, and in what light it was viewed by their sympathetic selves, was revealed in an extraordinary document that unexpectedly saw the light of day in March 1932, much to the embarrassment of Sir Edward Benthall and equally to the disgust of Sir Samuel Hoare. No, gentlemen, whatever mistakes of tactics some Hindu members of the Round Table Conference might have made, it is idle to blame the spokesmen of the community, as a whole of the absence of a agreed settlement.

One more proof is here of the injustice of making a scapegoat of Hindu leaders for the misfortune. Our great and revered leader Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya dedicated the best part of two whole months at Allahabad to an Unity Conference where it was hoped to reach a settlement which might replace the so-called award. As I happened to be among those who took a small part in the deliberations, I can testify to the extreme—yes, extreme, no smaller word will be an exact characterization—anxiety shown by Malaviyaji and the venerable President, the octogenarian Vijnraghavachariar—to accommodate Muslims in every possible manner and to the furthest possible extent. An agreement was all but reached, the only unsettled point left being the quantum of representation of the communities in Bengal. Two of the points settled were that Muslims should be allowed 32 per cent. of British Indian representation in the Central legislature and that Sind should be made a Governor's Province on certain terms to which the Hindu minority agreed and without a subsidy from central revenues. Forthwith the Secretary of State announced at the third Round Table Conference—a feeble caricature of the first two Conferences that his Majesty's Government had decided that Muslims would be allowed 33 and one third of British Indian seats in the central legislature and that Sind would be a separate Governor's Province financed by central revenues to the extent that might be necessary. The effect of the publication of this in India was instantaneous and in its way miraculous. The Unity Conference immediately broke up, as the beneficiary had no use left for it. I hold, ladies and gentlemen, tenaciously to two convictions on this subject.

1. The Hindu community should, and as a Hindu I do decline to accept the responsibility for the settlement of the communal problem, for as long as there is a third party in the field in a position of authority.

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—23 FEB. '35 ]

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

circumstances. I quite understand, fellow-delegates, that not only Cæsar's wife but Cæsar himself ought to be above suspicion. And of course a pledge given in suspicious circumstances and without previous sanction of higher authority by a Viceroy on his own responsibility is more sacrosanct than repeated declarations of Viceroys and Secretaries of State and Prime Ministers and the Sovereign himself that India shall have Dominion Status. But where was the pledge that separate electorates would be extended to provinces and communities and sexes and interests from time to time? Are they an evil to be got rid of as best as may be or a blessing to be extended and perpetuated? The Prime Minister's speeches indicated that they were the former; his 'award' points in the opposite direction. Doubtless, that is the reason for their extension to women, and to Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians where they are not at present.

5. The plea of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in 1918 for acting against their better judgment and maintaining separate electorates which they condemned as being incompatible with responsible government, was that they were bound to respect a solemn agreement between the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League. There has since been no agreement between them or between the All-India Muslim Conference and the All-India Hindu Mahasabha or among the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh delegatss to any of the Round Table Conferences, that the Pact of 1913 should be varied. Nor were Hindus and Sikhs parties to the Minorities Pact of the second Round Table Conference. Their own exclusively British Statutory Commission recommended that the agreement should not be disturbed except by consent. The Government of India in their dispatch on the Commission's Report took a similar view. Why then has a different line been taken in the arbitral 'award'? Indeed it is the apotheosis of impartiality!

6. Hindus have been compensated for the enforced sacrifice of substance by being complimented—if only by implication—for their non-communal nationalism by their electorates being classed as 'general'. This has been done both where they are a majority and where they are a minority. But in this world of sordid materialism a price has to be paid for even a doubtful compliment, and it has been exacted from them. It is that non-Hindus who cannot be dovetailed into a separate electorate with weightage thrown in are included in the general electoratos and to that extent Hindus as such are the losers. The Parsi community in Bombay are large enough as well as important enough to be ignored. But they are too enlightened and too patriotic to care for separate electorates and they had not the worldly wisdom to put their signatures to the London Minorities Pact of 1931. Therefore they are with Hindus in the so-called general or what may more correctly be described as the miscellaneous or the odds and ends or the *et cetera* electorate.

7. In view of the Poona Pact concluded in haste and under the shadow of an imminent national calamity of the first magnitude I tread on delicate ground when I speak of the arrangements for the representation of the so-called depressed classes. But I am uncommitted and am free to repeat what I have said elsewhere, that it aggravates the unfairness of the Premier's award. I have always been in favour of reservation of seats for them in the general electorates and still am. But no more. The Hindus of Bengal in particular have been hit hard by the double injustice, I deeply sympathize with them.

8. I can hardly speak with patience of the reservation of seats in separate electorates for majority communities as in Bengal, the Punjab, the Frontier Province and Sind. I condemn the arrangement without reservation or qualification and with emphasis.

9. The treatment accorded to the Hindus of the Punjab is a very peculiar form of protection of minorities which is the ostensible and avowed object of the 'award'. Proportionately they will be a smaller minority in the legislature than in the province. I have not yet come across a serious defence of this grave injustice.

10. With very few individual exceptions women throughout India and every one of their organisations pressed hard and prayed earnestly to be saved from communal electorates. Their prayer has been chivalrously rejected and in spite of themselves they are to be drawn into the muddy whirlpool of communal controversies. Poor us I am I shall beg or borrow—I would not go so far as to steal—and award a prize to the research student who will discover what pledge of the past has had to be honoured in this manner.

11. With one accord of heart and mind Indian India has cried out against the ridiculously excessive representation accorded to Europeans in Bengal. I have merely to say ditto.

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With one accord of heart and mind Indian India has cried out against the excessive representation accorded to Europeans in Bengal. I have merely to say

They must, therefore, make a grim determination of forcing it into the same fate as the Rowlatt Act. Their efforts, which had been crowned with success at Allahabad, were frustrated by the Secretary of State. The speaker declared that if only Indians were allowed to govern India under a joint electorate system, there would not remain a single member of the depressed classes and the economic condition of everybody would improve by leaps and bounds. He emotionally contrasted the conditions of India with foreign powers, especially Japan, and said that while during the last 25 years Japan had built up a huge trade and industry and ships, India had gone down under foreign domination.

Twenty-four persons spoke condemning the 'award' in the strongest terms and some of them urging Pandit Malaviya to lead a strong movement for getting the 'award' annulled.

*Giyani Sher Singh* said that the Punjab was the home of the Sikhs and they were determined to get an effective voice for themselves in the Government of the Punjab at any sacrifice.

*Maulvi Abdus Samad*, (Bengal) supporting the resolution, said that by the 'award' the British Government had now secured a division in the Hindu and Muslim communities and the day was not far off when even the Muslim community would be thus divided in several sections.

*Mr. Abdul Majid Khan* (Lahore) declared that the communal electorates would not help the Muslim community economically in the least. They had created in the community a body who were exploiting Muslims and were helping the bureaucracy and themselves.

*Pandit Nanak Chand* was shouted down by the audience when he attacked the Congress for keeping silent on the question of the communal 'award'.

After nearly three and a half hours' discussion the resolution was passed unanimously.

#### WITHDRAWAL OF INDIA BILL URGED

*Dr. R. K. Mukherjee* moved the second resolution urging the withdrawal of the Government of India Bill which is as follows :—

"Resolved that this Conference is firmly of opinion that the Government of India Bill is full of provisions, including the so-called communal 'award', injurious to Indian interests and obnoxious to Indian opinion and should, therefore, be withdrawn."

*Dr. Mukherjee* said that this monster stood on three legs. — Federation, adulterated responsibility and safeguards and was bound to fall sooner or later.

*Mr. Amar Singh* said that if this Bill was not withdrawn they would be compelled to do that which they did for stopping the separation of Bengal and for putting the Rowlatt Act in the waste basket.

*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai* said that the Bill was most mischievous as it contained a provision for the separation of Sind which was being done for placating certain individuals and bringing disruption among the Hindus and the Muslims.

Supporting the resolution, *Mr. K. S. Subramanyam* said that he was himself a Congress man and remarked that the Congressmen had not done their duty in not rejecting the 'award' in the Assembly. He asked whether the Congress men had not had a difference of opinion on other vital matters and whether they had not expressed their definite opinion thereon and then why they were neutral on this point.

A few others spoke and the resolution was carried unanimously.

The Conference then passed the third and last resolution.

#### AGITATION AGAINST AWARD

This Conference appoints a committee consisting of the following persons (with power to add to their number) to take steps in cooperation with other associations with similar objects to carry on an active agitation against the communal 'award' as well as the Government of India Bill as a whole.

The names of *Mr. C. Y. Chintamani*, President, *Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya*, chairman, *Mr. M. S. Aney*, secretary, *Dr. Tagore*, *Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee*, *Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee*, *Raja Narendranath*, *Dr. Moonje*, *Bhai Paramanand*, *Mr. Abdus Samad*, *Mr. Abdul Majid*, *Giani Sher Singh*, *Sardar Tara Singh*, *Sardar Sant Singh*, *Sardar Mangal Singh*, *Mr. A. C. Sen*, *Mr. K. K. Malaviya*, *Mr. Brijendra Narup*, *Mr. Navalrai*, *Kumar Ganganand Singh*, *Mr. Jagatnarain Lal*, *Mr. Mathunal*, *Mr. Hiresh Chandra Chakravarty*, *Mr. J. C. Gupta*, *Sardar Amar Singh*, *Mr. Govind Pradhan*, *Mr. S. B. Tambe*, *Mr. N. C. Kelker*, *Raja Sir Rampal Singh*, *Pandit Thakurdas*, *Mr. Nar singhnarain Singh*, *Mr. B. K. Bara*, *Mr. V. Naidu*, *Mr. J. N. Basu*, *Mr. Surondranath Malik*, *Pandit Gauri Shankar Misra*, *Srimati Shannodevi* and *Mr. Faqir Chand*.

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The President criticised at length the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha which group he described as very unsympathetic, unreasonable and uncompromising, holding them responsible for the failure of the Rajendra Prasad-Jinnah peace parleys and the Unity plans both in India and England. He outlined a programme of work for national unity and pleaded for the education of the masses and organisation of inter-communal leagues for the betterment and social uplift of the masses.

Referring to the proposed Hindu Sikh deputation to England for fighting against the Award, the Nawab warned that the move would further alienate the minorities and make an agreement next to impossible.

*Khan Sahib Mahomed Siddiq Multani*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, asserted that the Award could not be repealed by either pilgrimage to London or by agitation in India. It could only be unsettled by mutual agreement. He said that during the last twenty years, the majority had resisted to the utmost the just rights of the minorities and when the latter secured a portion of their just demands, the former were holding Conferences and leading deputations.

#### Discussion of Resolutions

Proposing the Nawab of Dacca to the chair, *Maulana Shaukat Ali* regretted that Pandit Malaviya, who should have made efforts for unity, had arranged the Anti-Award Conference. On the one hand, he wanted freedom, while, on the other, he was going to London to beg. The speaker held that Dr. Moonje was responsible for today's Conference.

Mr. *Shafi Daudi* proposed the following resolution: "This Conference, which is representative of the Mussalmans in the whole of India, declares its considered opinion that the Award so far as it goes is a corner-stone of gigantic constitutional machinery upon which any future Government of India may be based without which no genuine representative Government can be safely established in India".

Mr. Shafi Daudi congratulated the Congress for rightly understanding the communal position and passing a resolution at Patna not interfering with the communal question, unless it was mutually settled. The Congress now realised that they must do constructive work and it was an auspicious augury that they were working side by side with Mussalmans. Mr. *Fazlul Haq* seconded the resolution.

*Mahomed Samiullah* pleaded for the complete rejection of the Award, since justice was not done to the Punjab and Bengal Muslims, while Baluchistan was not constituted into a separate province. It neither contained Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points, nor the decision of the Muslim Conference held under the presidentship of the Aga Khan.

Mr. *Yamin Khan* tried to remove the previous speaker's misapprehensions by saying that it was a matter of reciprocity. While they got less proportionate representation in the Punjab and Bengal, they had more than their due in other provinces. He wondered, when Mr. Gandhi fasted for the settlement of the Depressed Class question why should he not do so for the achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity which was a more vital question.

Mr. *Abdul Wahab* opposed the Award since it neither removed unemployment, nor ameliorated the peasants' plight.

*Sir Mahomed Yakub* who, while supporting resolution, attacked his predecessors who pleaded for the rejection of the Award and said that some hirelings always attempted to create trouble to show that vast differences existed amongst the Muslims.

A loud uproar was raised and hot words were exchanged. There was pandemonium for over a quarter of an hour and subsequent speakers were continually heckled.

Mr. *Azmatullah*, opposing the resolution, said that they with a small group of Muslims sitting in the Arabic Hall thought that the entire Muslim community was with them.

The President warned the speakers that they had to keep in view the issue under consideration and not indulge in attacks and counter-attacks. Mr Azmatullah was continuing his speech, when Haji Rashid Ahamed, Secretary of the Conference went to Abdul Wahab Usman and warned him not to cause a disturbance. This resulted in an uproar, when Mr. Rashid Ahamed attempted to remove Mr. Abdul Wahab from the chair. Great confusion prevailed in which chairs were hurled and two or three persons were removed bodily from the hall.

Closing the debate Mr. *Shafi Daudi* said that the unemployment and the sad plight of the masses were due to the Hindu-Muslim disunity and the acceptance of the Award was laying the foundation-stone of unity.

The President criticised at length the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha which group he described as very unsympathetic, unreasonable and uncompromising, holding them responsible for the failure of the Rajendra Prasad-Jinnah peace parleys and the Unity plans both in India and England. He outlined a programme of work for national unity and pleaded for the education of the masses and organisation of inter-communal leagues for the betterment and social uplift of the masses.

Referring to the proposed Hindu Sikh deputation to England for fighting against the Award, the Nawab warned that the move would further alienate the minorities and make an agreement next to impossible.

*Khan Sahib Mahomed Siddiq Multani*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, asserted that the Award could not be repealed by either pilgrimage to London or by agitation in India. It could only be unsettled by mutual agreement. He said that during the last twenty years, the majority had resisted to the utmost the just rights of the minorities and when the latter secured a portion of their just demands, the former were holding Conferences and leading deputations.

#### Discussion of Resolutions

Proposing the Nawab of Dacca to the chair, *Maulana Shaukat Ali* regretted that Pandit Malaviya, who should have made efforts for unity, had arranged the Anti-Award Conference. On the one hand, he wanted freedom, while, on the other, he was going to London to beg. The speaker held that Dr. Moonje was responsible for today's Conference.

*Mr. Shafi Daudi* proposed the following resolution: "This Conference, which is representative of the Mussalmans in the whole of India, declares its considered opinion that the Award so far as it goes is a corner-stone of gigantic constitutional machinery upon which any future Government of India may be based without which no genuine representative Government can be safely established in India".

*Mr. Shafi Daudi* congratulated the Congress for rightly understanding the communal position and passing a resolution at Patna not interfering with the communal question, unless it was mutually settled. The Congress now realised that they must do constructive work and it was an auspicious augury that they were working side by side with Mussalmans. *Mr. Fazlul Haq* seconded the resolution.

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**Proceedings of**  
**The-All India Hindu Mahasabha**  
**The Bengal Hindu Conference**  
**The Depressed Classes Conferences**  
**The National Sikh Conference**  
**and the**  
**Provincial Political Conferences.**



Our humble suggestions as to the programme to be followed with advantage are briefly these :—

(1) The Mahasabha has rightly laid stress on the truth that the great Hindu Community can best earn the respect and consideration and justice which are its due only by developing and showing its innate strength. But what are the real sources of its strength and how to utilise them to the best advantage ? It should, therefore, bestow its most earnest thought to what really constitutes its *forte* and what its *foible*—what really made Hindu civilisation the great and beneficent power that it was during thousands of years ; what makes it a power of wonderful vitality, resistance and adaptability still ; and what factors have contributed to the weakening of this power, especially in the economic and political fields. Needless to say that this is not a mere academic enquiry which one may undertake after the day's work has been done. No vital and lastingly fruitful work is possible without the knowledge of the background of actual conditions as represented by our special history and the Genius of the people working through it. The *art* of the Hindu Mahasabha will require its *science*. Otherwise the so-called art or practice will only confound. The leaders and workers should, accordingly, initiate themselves into the science and master it. They will have to be like the Rishis, Sages and Bratacharins of old.

(2) Leaving aside their "superiority complex", they should try to establish a vital rapprochement, based on knowledge, understanding and sympathy, with the conservative and "Sanatanist" India—which is still, preponderatingly, the Reality that India is. The "progressive" elements should eschew the job of trying to rouse and brace up the "sleeping lion" by what we have elsewhere called nasal feeding. The relation should be one of mutual understanding and co-operation. The Mahasabha should not be, exclusively or preponderatingly, an organisation of the "progressive elements". Its scope should be as wide and catholic as possible. Its creed should be broad and catholic like true Hinduism itself.

(3) Which does not mean that it should pursue a "milk and water" or "neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring" policy. Any persuasion, within the fold, progressive or sanatanist, must be encouraged to show itself to its best advantage :

The Mahasabha edifice should not be based on the ignoring or suppressing of some elements, but upon the strength and unhampered growth of all.

(4) Political obsession is the bane of modern movements. Practically every move is so designed and managed as to suit political ends. Now, political ends may be good ; but it does not follow that they are the only ends that are good or that they are the best or supreme. They have their rightful place in a scheme of human ends or values. Politics, apart from such broader values, may degenerate into special propaganda, exploitation, faction, cliquism and coercion. These have to be guarded against. There is a lurking suspicion in the mind of the vast and apparently unorganised conservative sections of the people that the Hindu Mahasabha, in some matters, may be speaking in the name of the people without earning the fullest right to speak on their behalf and as their accredited mouthpiece ; that, in some cases, it may

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# The All-India Hindu Mahasabha

16th. Session—Cawnpore—20th. to 22nd. April 1935

## THE WELCOME ADDRESS

The sixteenth annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was held at Cawnpore on the 20th. April 1935 under the presidentship of *Rev. Ottama Bhikku*.

Welcome song by women volunteers from Baroda in picturesque uniforms and the chanting of Buddhist prayers formed the preliminary ceremony. The presence of a fairly large number of Burmese and Japanese Monks, in yellow robes, added a distinct oriental touch to the meeting.

About 5,000 delegates including Raja Narendranath, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Bhai Paramanand, Messrs. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, Ramanand Chatterjee, Sanat Kumar Chaudhuri, the Raja of Tirwa, Rai Bahadur Lala Ramsaran Das and Mr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee were present on the dais. More than 5000 people attended the session as visitors.

*Mr. Birjendra Swarup*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of his address, strongly criticised the Government's policy in separating Burma from India and said that the two countries were bound by traditional ties, being inheritors of a common religious culture. Grievous injury would, therefore, be inflicted on the people both of Burma and India when the scheme of operation was effected.

*Mr. Swarup* next attacked the Communal Award and said that the Hindu opinion could never be reconciled to it. The negotiations that were being carried on between the President of the Congress and Mr. M. A. Jinnah had not yet borne fruit but if the negotiations were carried on in a bargaining spirit, he, for one, would not support them. The best solution of the communal problem lay in the Hindus properly organising themselves and raising a united voice to protect their rights. That organisation could only be possible when Hindu society purged itself of inherent impurity by dealing equal justice to all castes. Their treatment of the Depressed classes was far from satisfactory and the consolidation of Hindu society was not possible so long as Hindus did not revise their opinion about the rights of lower castes.

Referring to the vexed question of music before mosque, *Mr. Swarup* said that Hindus did not seek favoured treatment at the expense of other communities. They only wanted that the Government should hold the scales even and meet the situation with fairness and justice. It was often found that Muslims engaged in prayers in mosques were not disturbed by any other kind of noise except by noise produced by Hindu music. Authorities were always in fear of wounding the religious feelings of Muslims but they never cared about hurting Hindu sentiment in stopping music before mosques. Emboldened by the Government's indulgence, Muslims had put forward a new demand that any person sitting or lying at a place close to the street through which a Mohurrum procession passed should stand up in respect. This was a perverse demand and carried with it its own condemnation.

The speaker appealed to Hindus to remove the grievances of Jains in the matter of taking out processions. Hindus and Jains were members of the same community and they must be tolerant of each other's religious susceptibilities.

In conclusion, the speaker asked Hindus to sink their domestic differences and unify the divergent forces working in Hindu society, in order to protect their rights and win, in collaboration with other communities, freedom for Aryavartha.

*Mr. Swarup* then proposed *Rev. Ottama* to the chair.

## Presidential Address

*Rev. Ottama* took the chair and delivered his presidential address. In the course of his speech he said :—

The Hindu Mahasabha owed its origin to the far-seeing statesmanship and constructive genius of that illustrious son of Mother India, I mean Swami Sradhanand, and during the short period of its existence it has done a lot in the way of safeguarding the interests of the Hindus and retarding the forces of disintegration which had been eating into the vitals of the Hindu community. Yet we have noticed with dismay a growing tendency on the part of some of our political leaders to assume a superior pose and try to discredit this great institution before the world. Persistent attempts have been made directly and indirectly, of late, to brand the Hindu Mahasabha as a

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logical conclusion of their condemnation, has given rise to a lot of misinterpretation in interested quarters. Who can say that this non-committal attitude on the part of the Congress has not emboldened the Joint Parliamentary Committee to incorporate the provisions of the so-called Communal Award lock, stock and barrel into the scheme of constitutional reforms propounded by them, in the teeth of universal popular opposition here in India. Friends, the Hindu Mahasabha, if it is to be true to the aims and objects for the furtherance of which it had been started, cannot sit with folded hands trusting to the power of prayers to work miracles in regard to this grave menace to the growth of healthy nationalism in India. Its clear duty will be to continue to carry on a raging and tearing campaign throughout the country in such as to convince our Muslim brethren how the provisions of the Communal Award are likely to prove detrimental to their best interests in the long run and how it would lead to increased inter-communal tension outside and inside the legislatures so that real power may continue to be in the hands, as Mr. C. Y. Chintamoni so nicely put, of our inescapable trustees of the I. C. S. headed by a Governor-General and Governors with many and important powers centred in them as authorities external and superior to the Governments responsible to their respective legislatures.

#### DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

I understand there is a talk in some quarters of sending a strong deputation on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha to mobilise public opinion in England against the reform proposals envisaged in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report, especially against the Premier's Communal Award, through the British Press and platform and also through pourparlers with the leaders of various parties there with a view to secure its modification or rejection.

Frankly speaking, I am not optimistic about the result of any such move. We have already seen what precious little has been achieved by our friends Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and others of their way of thinking who had tried all of those expedients to arouse public opinion in England about a much broader issue than the Communal Award, I mean the main constitutional question. These distinguished countrymen of ours were treated as the "pet boys" of Sir Samuel Hoare only so long as they did not try to disturb the fundamentals of the scheme drawn up by the British experts. But when these same and sober persons took the unusual step of drafting a joint memorandum suggesting modifications of the White Paper proposals, the Joint Parliamentary Committee lost no time in making them realise their proper limitations. I do not think the British Press and the British public would be more hospitable to our agitation at this stage over the Communal Award or the Joint Parliamentary Committee's proposals than they have been before. To speak the truth, the generality of the British public have neither the time nor the inclination to attend to what is going on about the affairs of 352 millions of their fellow subjects out here in India. They will remain content as ever before with the spoon-feeding in the matter of Indian affairs to which they are treated by Sir Samuel Hoare and their "men on the spot" by whom they have always set much store.

#### J. P. C. REPORT

The long-looked-for report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee has at last seen the light of the day and you would expect me to express some opinion on it. I am in the happy position of being able to extend a hearty welcome to this report because it reveals, as through a mirror, the real mind of the British Imperialists. In view of the fact that the report has throughout scrupulously omitted any reference even to "Dominion Status" for India, not to speak of "Purna Swaraj," I consider it a sheer waste of time to discuss the implications of the numerous safeguards which the members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee have thought fit to tack on to every important proposal having the semblance of making the slightest concession to the Indians. That one omission is more eloquent in showing where we, Indians, stand really in our agitation for further constitutional reforms than all the special pleadings that the apologists of the "Great Mogul" at Whitehall may have been tutored to put forward. Indians asked for a Declaration of Rights under the constitution for the children of the soil. They have got instead a Declaration of Safeguards for the stranger on the soil. It is all very well to talk of safeguards but how are we going to safeguard the safeguards?—How are we going to ensure that the safeguards will guard safely;—will be servants of the people and not tyrants? The Report has proved beyond doubt as, I am sure, even the most sober-minded moderate amongst us will now admit that the Indian National Congress has been right in its cry that Swaraj is

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#### FIROZABAD OCCURRENCE

The second resolution expressed the feeling of horror over the Firozabad occurrence and was moved by Mr. Dhamvir Vidyalankar and supported by Messrs. Ram Bharose Lal, Brahma Sarup and Sarda Prasad. It was passed, all standing.

#### MUSIC BEFORE MOSQUES

On the motion of Raja Narendra Nath, supported by Messrs. Chand Karan Sharda, Jagat Narain Lal, Dev Brat, Raj Nath Kunzru, Rahas Bihari Tewari and Shrimati Prem Lata, the Mahasabha recorded the following resolution:-

"This session of the Hindu Mahasabha strongly protests against the unreasonable demand which has been made by Muslims within the last few years for stopping music before mosques even on public roads and Kings' highways in utter disregard of the legal rights of the Hindus."

The next resolution, moved by Mr. Ghisu Lal and supported by Mr. Narendra Nath Rai, Swami Lal Nath, Chaudhri Krishna Gopal and Srimati Subhadra Kumari, recorded the view that communal troubles and riots were really due to the favoured treatment received by Muslims from the Government.

#### JAIN PROCESSIONS

The following resolution was considered and passed on the motion of Dr. Moonje and the support of Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar and Babu Ajit Prasad Jain.

"This Mahasabha expresses its strong disapproval of the objections raised to and obstructions placed in the carrying of Jain images in public processions in some places and hopes that in future all Hindus will support and cooperate in such processions and religious functions and thereby strengthen the bond of amity between different religions comprising the Hindu community.

Resolved unanimously that a committee, consisting of the following members with power to coopt be formed for the purposes of giving effect to the above declaration and persuade the objectors to cooperate: Dr. B. S. Moonje, Babu Padam Raj Jain, Raja Durga Narain Singh of Tirwa and Rai Sahib Rup Chand Jain.

#### COMMUNAL 'AWARD'

The most important resolution of the day was on the communal "award". It was as follows:—

"That the Hindu Mahasabha reiterates its complete condemnation of the communal "award" decision of his Majesty's Government, as it is anti-national and glaringly unjust, particularly to Hindus and Sikhs, and declares its determination to carry on a campaign against the said communal decision until it is replaced by more equitable solution.

"That this session of the Mahasabha deplores the action of the Congress party in the Legislative Assembly in not voting against the resolution in the Assembly accepting the so-called communal "award" and thus failing not only to reflect the true Hindu opinion on the subject but even to carry out their own election pledges with regard to it."

The resolution was moved by Pandit Radha Kant Malaviya, who in the course of a forceful speech reviewed the history of the circumstances which led to the communal decision and criticized it vehemently. The motion was passed unanimously and with applause after it was supported by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji, Mr. Nanak Chand of Lahore, Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Das and Miss Yashoda Kumari, a young girl of Baroda.

It is reported that in the subjects committee meeting Mr. Vijiaraghava chariar doubted the propriety of passing a separate resolution on the communal "award" and that he wanted to include it in his resolution on the constitution. The general view, however, prevailed that the communal "award" would stand whether the proposed Reform bill came into force or not.

#### THANKS TO JAPANESE PEOPLE

The last resolution passed to-day was the following moved from the chair:—

"This session of the Hindu Mahasabha records its cordial thanks to the organization of the Buddhist conference and the Japanese people in general for the generous reception accorded by them to the delegates sent by the Hindu Mahasabha to that conference which met last year in Tokio."

the original draft stronger, Raja Narendra Nath had to appeal to the delegates not to import into discussions language which displayed a mob mentality while the Mahasabha was a very dignified body.

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The second resolution expressed the feeling of horror over the Firozabad occurrence and was moved by Mr. Dhramvir Vidyalankar and supported by Messrs. Ram Bharose Lal, Brahma Sarup and Sarda Prasad. It was passed, all standing.

#### MUSIC BEFORE MOSQUES

On the motion of Raja Narendra Nath, supported by Messrs. Chand Karan Sharda, Jagat Narain Lal, Dev Brat, Raj Nath Kunzru, Rahas Bihari Tewari and Shrimati Prem Lata, the Mahasabha recorded the following resolution:-

"This session of the Hindu Mahasabha strongly protests against the unreasonable demand which has been made by Muslims within the last few years for stopping music before mosques even on public roads and Kings' highways in utter disregard of the legal rights of the Hindus."

The next rosolution, moved by Mr. Ghisu Lal and supported by Mr. Narendra Nath Rai, Swami Lal Nath, Chaudhri Krishna Gopal and Srimati Subhadra Kumari, recorded the view that communal troubles and riots were really due to the favoured treatment received by Muslims from the Government.

#### JAIN PROCESSIONS

The following resolution was considered and passed on the motion of Dr. Moonje and the support of Mr. C. Vijiaghavachariar and Babu Ajit Prasad Jain.

"This Mahasabha expresses its strong disapproval of the objections raised to and obstructions placed in the carrying of Jain images in public processions in some places and hopes that in future all Hindus will support and cooperate in such processions and religious functions and thereby strengthen the bond of amity between different religions comprising the Hindu community.

Resolved unanimously that a committee, consisting of the following members with power to coopt be formed for the purposes of giving effect to the above declaration and persuade the objectors to cooperate: Dr. B. S. Moonje, Babu Padam Raj Jain, Raja Durga Narain Singh of Tirwa and Rai Sahib Rup Chand Jain.

#### COMMUNAL 'AWARD'

The most important resolution of the day was on the communal "award". It was as follows:—

"That the Hindu Mahasabha reiterates its complete condemnation of the communal "award" decision of his Majesty's Government, as it is anti-national and glaringly unjust, particularly to Hindus and Sikhs, and declares its determination to carry on a campaign against the said communal decision until it is replaced by more equitable solution.

"That this session of the Mahasabha deplores the action of the Congress party in the Legislative Assembly in not voting against the resolution in the Assembly accepting the so-called communal "award" and thus failing not only to reflect the true Hindu opinion on the subject but even to carry out their own election pledges with regard to it."

The resolution was moved by Pandit Radha Kant Malaviya, who in the course of a forceful speech reviewed the history of the circumstances which led to the communal decision and criticized it vehemently. The motion was passed unanimously and with applause after it was supported by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji, Mr. Nanak Chand of Lahore, Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Das and Miss Yashoda Kumari, a young girl of Baroda.

It is reported that in the subjects committee meeting Mr. Vijiaghava chariar doubted the propriety of passing a separate resolution on the communal "award" and that he wanted to include it in his resolution on the constitution. The general view, however, prevailed that the communal "award" would stand whether the proposed Reform bill came into force or not.

#### THANKS TO JAPANESE PEOPLE

The last resolution passed to-day was the following moved from the chair:—

"This session of the Hindu Mahasabha records its cordial thanks to the organization of the Buddhist conference and the Japanese people in general for the generous reception accorded by them to the delegates sent by the Hindu Mahasabha to that conference which met last year in Tokio."

proportion in the All-India Services of the Government, as it was not only detrimental to the establishment of efficient administration, but is also anti-national and is sure to perpetuate communal friction." The resolution was carried unanimously.

The next resolution pleaded for making Hindi the *lingua franca* of India. It said that in the Postal Department in many provinces, notably in the Punjab, Hindi was not recognised. Such non-recognition caused serious inconvenience to the people. The resolution further pleaded that Hindi should be recognised as a court language in the Punjab and in all other provinces, where it was not so recognised.

#### SEPARATION OF BURMA

The resolution on the separation of Burma, which was moved from the Chair, protested against Parliament's decision and said that it would have the effect of breaking the political unity of Burma and India and disintegrate the cultural fellowship of the people.

Another resolution passed by the Mahasabha related to the question of preparing a suitable design for a Hindu flag and appointed a Committee of seven persons with Mr. Padamraj Jain as Chairman.

#### BODH-GAYA TEMPLE BILL

At this stage a resolution on the question of possession of Bodh-Gaya temple was moved. This gave offence to Sanatan Hindus who made angry demonstrations and rushed to the dais in order to prevent the passage of the resolution. Great confusion reigned for nearly a quarter of an hour. The president then left the meeting but was brought back in order to adjourn the session. The session was adjourned till afternoon.

The Bodh-Gaya temple question which caused so much confusion in the morning session was settled at last and the following resolution agreed by the Subjects Committee and the opposition was put from the chair in evening session and passed.

"The Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that efforts should be made to arrive at an amicable settlement of the question which was arisen about the management of the Bodh-Gaya temple between Sanatanists and Buddhist Hindus and is therefore of opinion that the proposed bill for the management of the above temple be not proceeded with by its authors in the Assembly. This session therefore appoints a committee consisting of Bhai Permanand as chairman, Babu Jagatnarin Lal, Swami Dayanand, Pandit Dwarka Prasad Chaturvedi, Mr. Anandpriya Kanshlyan and Mr. Devapriya Balisingh subject to the condition that the authors of the bill agree not to proceed with the same pending efforts for arriving at an amicable settlement till the end of this year and that the committee shall not commence work until this condition has been fulfilled and subject further to the condition that any settlement which might be arrived at by the committee appointed by His Holiness Jagatguru Shankaracharya will be acceptable to the Sanatanists".

The Mahasabha also passed in the evening a resolution laying down its programme of work during the current year. The session terminated after short speeches by some Japanese and Singhalese delegates, thanksgiving speeches by Babu Brijendra Swarup and Bhai Permanand and concluding remarks by the president.

## The All-Bengal Hindu Conference

#### The Welcome Address

The All Bengal Hindu Conference met at the Indian Association Hall, Calcutta, on the 2nd. February 1935 under the presidency of Sj. Narendra Kumar Basu.

Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, Chairman of the Reception Committee, began by according a hearty welcome to the delegates, ladies and gentlemen.

The speaker referred to the India Bill published that morning which showed how shabbily the Government treated public opinion in India. He would request the President who was more competent than him to deal with it and to explain the implications of the Bill to them.

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would take heed. Twenty years ago who could have foreseen the present dissension between the two sister communities ? He sounded a note of warning to the members of the scheduled castes that the wedge was to be between the 77 scheduled castes themselves. By neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Award the Congress had taken a curious attitude. It was however refreshing to see that the President of the Congress in his letter to the "Manchester Guardian" had admitted at the fifty-ninth hour that the Communal Award was condemned universally by all Hindus and even by some Mahomedans. The President put forward three alternatives to substitute the Communal Award. He had no objection to the 119 seats being allotted to the Mahomedans provided they were returned on the basis of the joint electorate. Secondly all the Communities, Hindus, Mahomedans and Anglo-Indians, all should try in unison to reduce the number of ten seats reserved for the Europeans. The seats should be distributed according to the population of each community. Thirdly the question might be settled in accordance with the dissentient note submitted by the nine members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee headed by Marquess of Zetland which provided

"To give to Muslims or to Hindus whichever is the minority community the right to decide whether election in the case of general territorial constituency shall be by separate or joint electorates.

"In the case of Bengal to allot the general territorial seat between Moslems and Hindus on population basis, and to give depressed classes in all provinces the representation given to them by the Government under the original award before it was modified by the Poona Pact."

#### RESOLUTIONS—2nd. Day—3rd. February 1935

The Conference concluded its deliberations on the next day in the evening and unanimously expressed the opinion that 'to insist upon legislation on the basis of the Communal Decision will seriously impede the growth of goodwill between Britain and India'.

Following resolutions were adopted by the Conference :—

\* "That the President be authorised to send the following cable to Parliament :—

(1) "That this Conference of all sections of the Hindus of Bengal draws attention of Parliament to the fact that they have never acquiesced in any manner in the Communal Decision and the electorate in Bengal have emphatically rejected the Decision in the recent elections to the Legislative Assembly which were fought on that issue alone. This meeting further informs Parliament that Bengal Hindus will never accept the said Decision and that to insist upon legislation on that basis would create a situation of unusual difficulty and danger and will seriously impede the growth of goodwill between Britain and India."

(2) "That this conference of all sections of the Hindus of Bengal records its deliberate opinion that apart from the retrograde character and the defective provisions of the India Bill now before Parliament based on the joint Parliamentary Committee's Report (which defects have been exhaustively pointed out by nationalist Indians throughout India and do not require recapitulation) the Communal Decision and the Poona Pact as embodied in the Scheme of the Bill are wholly unacceptable to the Bengal Hindus as being anti-national and subversive of all principles of all democratic Government. The Bengal Hindus though a minority community do not want any reservation of seats but are willing that members of the Legislature be elected on the basis of joint electorates without reservation. If, however, the majority community in Bengal should be unprepared to accept such a scheme, the Bengal Hindus would then claim weightage, as the most important community in Bengal having regard to their advance in education, culture, wealth, public service, commercial interest and contribution to the public exchequer and that in no case should the number of seats to be allotted to them fall short of those allotted to the Muhammadan community in Bengal. Lastly, should the equitable arrangement above suggested fail to find acceptance, then the minimum that the Bengal Hindus would be prepared to accept and work with is the scheme formulated by Lord Zetland which was placed before the Joint Parliamentary Committee with the influential support of Lord Salisbury, Lord Derby and others."

(3) "That this meeting calls upon the country to observe the 10th February next as the Anti-Award Day and to carry on an intensive campaign against the Communal Decision by all legitimate means."

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in the administration of the country that co-operation and unity among the people themselves can be achieved. We cannot practise non-co-operation in a particular direction without expecting non-co-operation being practised against us from another quarter. Recent experience has shown that those who preach or practice non-co-operation towards one party are paid in their own coin by those whose support they need. I say this not in any fault-finding spirit but as a warning for the future and as an earnest plea for a co-operative and constructive spirit being brought to bear upon the consideration of the proposals embodied in the future Government of India Act.

Viewing the Government of India Bill, that is before the Parliament, so far at least as our community is concerned, I am glad to observe that the interests of our community are advanced without conflict with the interests of other communities and indeed as part of the general advancement. For instance the enlargement of the Electorate from 3 per cent. of the population to 14 per cent. gives the franchise to a very large number of our people. And as a special protection, the franchise is so broadened as to give the vote to 10 per cent. out of 60 millions of our people. Surely this is a decided move in the direction of Democratic Government or in other words of Swaraj. In this respect this special protection is shared by our community along with women and that the elevation and enfranchisement of women and of the Depressed Classes are two essential factors of social and political progress. I am sure that no body in India, however conservative and orthodox he may be, will grudge us this special attention.

I am glad also that the Poona Pact in which Hindu leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya co-operated with Mahatma Gandhi has now become a part of the Government of India Act. Is this not a fact over which all classes should rejoice? The Poona Pact is the Magna Charta of our community. It is a well thought out arrangement.

It is of no use to ignore or minimise the importance of Autonomy being introduced in Provincial Governments immediately. The whole administrative machinery including Law and Order will be placed in the hands of Ministers responsible to the Legislative Councils and subject to popular control; and these Provincial Governments will become direct representatives of the Crown and empowered to deal directly with the Secretary of State. It is true that more power is vested in the Governor; but more power means more responsibility in using that power. And it is only in cases in which there is distinct need that the power is intended to be used and will, I am confident, be used. It is latent power rather than power in action. Normally the Governor should have very little to do and he becomes an active force only when the situation demands it.

In short, safeguards provided in the Report could all be made superfluous and inoperative if we bring a constructive co-operative spirit for working the Reforms. If there is lack of co-operation among the people and lack of co-operation in working the machinery set up, then and only then will the safeguards become operative. It lies with the elected representatives of the people to make the safeguards unnecessary. If obstruction throws the administrative machinery out of gear, the engineer from outside will have to intervene to set it right and to keep it going.

In considering this subject of safeguards, it will not do to be sentimental. A little self-examination, both personal and co-operative self-examination, will do us good. Are we all that we might be in the matter of mutual confidence, mutual respect and mutual co-operation? As a member of the Depressed Classes and as a Hindu, I think I have the right to ask this question. If we possessed all the moral and social qualities necessary for full Self-Government, what would be the necessity for Gandhiji turning aside from his political activities and diverting his energies to the cause of the Harijans? And is not the feeling of Untouchability with its implications of distrust, contempt and boycott which is shown so flagrantly towards the Depressed Classes, characteristic, in smaller measure no doubt and in subtler form, of the mutual relation of the thousand communities which inhabit this land?

It is no good asking 'do not such things exist in other countries, and do the people there not govern themselves'? The fact that they govern themselves shows that there is a measure of mutual respect among them which makes co-operation possible.

I do not charge all the Hindus with lack of sympathy for the Depressed Classes or towards one another; all honour to those who lead the van in the campaign against that anti-national institution Caste, but I do say that the country as a whole and the Hindus as a whole are still unconverted socially though they have voted politically for the Congress in the recent elections. The forces of the social

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all credit to my esteemed friend Sir James Grigg, the Finance Member. I hope he will make this a recurring grant. India lives in villages. About 90 per cent of her population reside in 5,00,000 villages. The remaining 10 per cent only dwell in towns and cities. The welfare of the bulk of its population is a matter of vital importance. The first and the foremost charge on the exchequer of any civilized Government is the promotion of human happiness and of the widening of the opportunities for a good life for many crores of the people of the country. Out of this sum our Provincial Government will get a grant of 17 lakhs of rupees for the development of villages in our Province. It is a known fact that among the villages, the villages occupied by our people are most neglected and are in the worst possible condition—no roads, no water supply for human beings and for cattle, no schools, no sanitation, no medical relief etc. These villages require the immediate attention of Government and it is the intention of Mahatma Gandhi to take up immediately the improvement of these plague-spots. So it is of utmost importance that an adequate sum from this 17 lakhs should be earmarked for spending in the villages inhabited by our people. We form one-fifth of the population and justice demands that one-fifth of the 17 lakhs should be set apart towards the uplift of these waiting millions, the real sons of the soil. This amount should be placed in the hands of the Labour Commissioner who is in charge of the work of the amelioration of the Depressed Classes or the Inspector of Local Boards who is in direct touch with the rural population. The whole amount should be spent through the District Collectors and not through the Local Bodies. I hope His Excellency Lord Erskine will give his considered thought to this. I know His Excellency. He is very sympathetic towards the Depressed Classes and is very much concerned in our upliftment. We rely with complete faith on Lord Erskine to redress our grievances and to help us in our struggles onwards and upwards.

I am glad the Government of Madras have set up a Delimitation Committee, but I really fail to understand the policy of our Government in not appointing on the Main Committee, a member of our community who is an advocate of the Poona Act which now forms a part of the Government of India Act. It is not just and fair to the community to nominate merely a member who is entirely opposed to the Poona Pact, on the Main Committee. I hope His Excellency Lord Erskine, who is a sound Parliamentarian, will consider this aspect of the question also and set right the inequity. After all is it not the work of this Committee to carve out electorates etc., for the Depressed Classes in accordance with the system of elections embodied in the Pact and for the successful working of the Poona Pact?

The Government of India will very soon appoint a delimitation Commission in connection with the coming Reforms. I need not tell you how essential it is that a member of the community should be on this important commission. I hope His Excellency the Viceroy will not overlook to appoint a member of our community on this Commission. This leads me on to the coming elections to the Provincial Councils. Next year by this time, I presume, election propaganda will be in full swing. We should not lag behind. We should set up proper candidates for the 30 seats reserved for us in the Local Council and get them elected as far as possible unopposed. You will be glad to hear that an Election Board called the South Indian Depressed Classes Election Board has been set up for the purpose of choosing and setting up suitable and proper Depressed Class candidates for the Central and Provincial Legislatures with the object of avoiding, as far as practicable, unnecessary contest in the elections and heavy expenditure, and for securing candidates of a truly representative character. The conveners of this Board are Rao Saheb L. C. Gurusawmy, Ex. M. L. C., and Mr. P. K. Pushparaj, B. Sc. B. L. You would recognise an Election Board of this kind is very essential and I do hope you will co-operate with the Board and representatives from each and every territory—Tamil, Telugu—Malayalam and Kanarese, will be on this Board.

Before I conclude I wish to say a few words about the Harijan Sevak Sangh. This Association was started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1932 and has been carrying on splendid work on behalf of our community. It is directed and controlled by Mr. G. D. Birla, a man of unbounded sympathy for the Depressed Classes; and the whole work is supervised by that devoted worker Mr. A. V. Thakker, who is best fitted for this work. Mr. Thakker is ably assisted by Professor N. R. Malkani. I have nothing but praise for these self-less workers, who have dedicated their lives for this noble cause. The special feature of the work of the Sangh this year is the collection of one lakh of rupees to improve the water supply of Harijan bastis in villages. On behalf of our community I take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to the Sangh and its officers.

all credit to my esteemed friend Sir James Grigg, the Finance Member. I hope he will make this a recurring grant. India lives in villages. About 90 per cent of her population reside in 5,00,000 villages. The remaining 10 per cent only dwell in towns and cities. The welfare of the bulk of its population is a matter of vital importance. The first and the foremost charge on the exchequer of any civilized Government is the promotion of human happiness and of the widening of the opportunities for a good life for many crores of the people of the country. Out of this sum our Provincial Government will get a grant of 17 lakhs of rupees for the development of villages in our Province. It is a known fact that among the villages, the villages occupied by our people are most neglected and are in the worst possible condition—no roads, no water supply for human beings and for cattle, no schools, no sanitation, no medical relief etc. These villages require the immediate attention of Government and it is the intention of Mahatma Gandhi to take up immediately the improvement of these plague-spots. So it is of utmost importance that an adequate sum from this 17 lakhs should be earmarked for spending in the villages inhabited by our people. We form one-fifth of the population and justice demands that one-fifth of the 17 lakhs should be set apart towards the uplift of these waiting millions, the real sons of the soil. This amount should be placed in the hands of the Labour Commissioner who is in charge of the work of the amelioration of the Depressed Classes or the Inspector of Local Boards who is in direct touch with the rural population. The whole amount should be spent through the District Collectors and not through the Local Bodies. I hope His Excellency Lord Erskine will give his considered thought to this. I know His Excellency. He is very sympathetic towards the Depressed Classes and is very much concerned in our upliftment. We rely with complete faith on Lord Erskine to redress our grievances and to help us in our struggles onwards and upwards.

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The Government of India will very soon appoint a delimitation Commission in connection with the coming Reforms. I need not tell you how essential it is that a member of the community should be on this important commission. I hope His Excellency the Viceroy will not overlook to appoint a member of our community on this Commission. This leads me on to the coming elections to the Provincial Councils. Next year by this time, I presume, election propaganda will be in full swing. We should not lag behind. We should set up proper candidates for the 30 seats reserved for us in the Local Council and get them elected as far as possible unopposed. You will be glad to hear that an Election Board called the South Indian Depressed Classes Election Board has been set up for the purpose of choosing and setting up suitable and proper Depressed Class candidates for the Central and Provincial Legislatures with the object of avoiding, as far as practicable, unnecessary contest in the elections and heavy expenditure, and for securing candidates of a truly representative character. The conveners of this Board are Rao Saheb L. C. Gurusawmy, Ex. M. L. C., and Mr. P. K. Pushparaj, B. Sc. B. L. You would recognise an Election Board of this kind is very essential and I do hope you will co-operate with the Board and representatives from each and every territory—Tamil, Telugu—Malayalam and Kanarese, will be on this Board.

Before I conclude I wish to say a few words about the Harijan Sevak Sangh. This Association was started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1932 and has been carrying on splendid work on behalf of our community. It is directed and controlled by Mr. G. D. Birla, a man of unbounded sympathy for the Depressed Classes; and the whole work is supervised by that devoted worker Mr. A. V. Thakker, who is best fitted for this work. Mr. Thakker is ably assisted by Professor N. R. Malkani. I have nothing but praise for these self-less workers, who have dedicated their lives for this noble cause. The special feature of the work of the Sangh this year is the collection of one lakh of rupees to improve the water supply of Harijan bastis in villages. On behalf of our community I take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to the Sangh and its officers.

The Conference expressed its sorrow at the demise of Mr. Naralasetti Devendrudu and Mr. Todi Venkanna.

#### REPRESENTATION IN LEGISLATURE

Out of the thirty seats reserved for the Depressed Classes in the Local Legislative Council under the new reform scheme, the Conference requested the Government to allot 15 seats to the Andhra Depressed Classes.

The Conference protested against the creation of the upper chamber in the local provincial legislature. If in defiance of public opinion the upper chamber was created, the Conference requested the Government to allot 7 seats to the depressed classes in the upper chamber.

Out of the 17 lakhs sanctioned by the Central Government for village reconstruction in the Madras presidency, the Conference requested the local Government to set apart 3 lakhs and odd for the Depressed Classes in the presidency. The Conference further requested the Government to spend out of those 3 lakhs of rupees, Rs. 1 and a half lakhs in the Andhradesa.

The Conference exhorted the public to subscribe liberally to the Rayalaseema Relief Fund and the Quetta Earthquake Relief Fund.

The Conference paid its homage to Mahatma Gandhi for his selfless work in the cause of the Harijans. The delegates offered their loyalty to Their Majesties on the completion of their 25 years' reign.

The Andhra Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Ganjam leaders were asked to provide adequate funds for Harijan work in the Ganjam district. The Conference congratulated the Harijan Sevak Sanghs in the Andhra Province on the good work turned out by them.

The Conference requested the Government and the local bodies to reserve at least one-fifth of the appointments under their control for the depressed classes. The Conference requested the Labour Department to give all the contracts under their control to the Harijans.

#### NEEDS OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

The Conference requested the Government and the public to place all productive land by legislation in the hands of only people who had taken to agriculture as profession. The Conference further requested the Government to set apart by legislation one-third of the annual produce for the agricultural labourer.

The Conference drew the attention of the public to the importance of forming the Andhra Provincial Agricultural Labour Association and appointed a committee of nine gentlemen including Messrs. V. V. Giri, S. Subba Rao, N. Satyanarayna, Musti Lakshnarayna, Kusuma Venkatramiah and Guduri Ramachandrudu, to take active steps for the formation of the committee at an early date.

The Conference requested the public to hold the Andhra Provincial Agricultural Labour Conference at an early date.

The constitution drafted by the sub-committee was then adopted. The constitution provided for a Provincial Committee, Provincial Working Committee and District Committees. Messrs. Urdu Subharao of East Godavari and Dr. Zerdas of Guntur were elected Provincial Secretaries. Mr. Shanmugham of Nellore was authorised to organise District Committees in the City of Madras, Chittoor, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Bellary.

#### MR. PRAKASAM'S ADDRESS

Before the Conference terminated, Mr. T. Prakasam, President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, addressed the gathering. He stated that the Congress and the Congress Parliamentary Board had called upon the public to capture the Councils. The Congress had on its rolls Harijans, Muslims, Christians, landholders, labourers and women. Everyone in the country that joined hands with the Congress was a member of the Congress Party. Hereafter, there would be only two parties in this part of the country—the Congress Party and the Justice Party. It was left for them to join one of the two parties. He was confident that they would join the Congress Party ultimately. He congratulated them on accepting the Poona Pact and the system of joint electorates.

With the closing remarks of the President, the Conference came to a close.

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But the growth of manhood in the depressed classes, the speaker continued, irresistably calls for the abolition of castes and other social disabilities following therefor. Any conflict of interests between the caste Hindus and the untouchables cannot but tell upon the failure of the Hindu Society. Its much-needed solidarity urgently calls for the removal of the artificial bar to intercaste marriage and to temple entry.

The President having concluded, resolutions were unanimously adopted urging removal of castes, introduction of widow re-marriage and the like. Late at night the proceedings were brought to a close by a vote of thanks to the chair.

The political section of the Depressed classes Conference met the next morning at 9 A. M. In the absence of the President-elect Sj. Nagendra Narayan Roy, due to his illness, Sj. Rajani Kanta Das, was proposed to the chair. Sj. Nepal Chandra Roy in opening the Conference in a short speech made a survey of the growth of our freedom movement and pointedly drew the attention of the audience to the burning political topics of the day.

In his presidential address Sj. Das dwelt mainly on the inadequacy of the reforms proposals now before the Parliament, and the retrograde and the anti-national character of the Communal Award. The spirit of distrust and the unwillingness of trasferring power pervades the entire scheme of constitutional reforms.

This sorry scheme cannot satisfy the growing political aspirations of the children of the soil, and as such has no chance of acceptance. The Communal Award, aiming at the emasculation of the nation by a process of vivisection of the body politic, constitutes the worst feature of the reforms that human ingenuity could ever devise.

Referring to the Poona Pact, the President stated how people were coerced into its acceptance by Mahatmaji's threat of fasting unto death, irrespective of any consideration of the merits of the Pact. At the time of the Premier's Award the depressed classes seemed quite contended with the reservation of no more than 10 seats. With that logic can they at present regard the 30 seats, given them under the Pact, as absolutely sacrosanct? The double system of election of the Poona Pact is by no means a desirable feature. For the sake of maintaining in tact the integrity of the Hindu Society, the depressed class should be prepared to re-open the Peona Pact with a view to the readjustment of respective claims by mutual agreement between caste Hindus and the depressed classes.

### R e s o l u t i o n s

The following resolutions were unanimously accepted at the Conference :—

(1) "Whereas the constitutional reforms proposals now before the Parliament have denied our political aspiration ; whereas these proposals are intended to maintain and perpetuate foreign exploitation and domination, and as such have been unanimously condemned as more retrograde, expensive and humiliating than the existing system, this Conference rejects these reforms proposals in their entirety and urges the people in general to launch an effective campaign for their rejection throughout the country.

(2) "This Conference is definitely of opinion that the British Premier's Communal Award is antinational, undemocratic and fraught with dangerous consequences, being primarily intended to consolidate British Imperialism in India upon the vivisection of our body politic, this Conference, therefore, rejects the Communal Award in all its aspects, and urges the launching of a country-wide campaign against the Award, with a view to its replacement by a system of representation on the basis of joint electorate with adult franchise, which is the 'sine qua non' for the growth of a free and democratic India.

(3) "In view of the unnecessary cost involved in the double system of election inherent in the Poona Pact, this Conference proposes that a Committee consisting of the following persons, with power to co-opt, may reconsider the provisions of the Poona Pact with a view to arrive at a satisfactory agreed settlement between the parties concerned. The Committee is hereby desired to announce their decision within two months and take the necessary steps for its acceptance by the authorities."

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"With regard to the encouragement of secondary education among Harijans all that our Sangh can do, besides awarding some necessary scholarships, is to put considerable pressure on District Boards to exempt Harijans from fees, partly or wholly. The Tamilnad and Kerala Secretaries report that all the District Boards have exempted Harijans from payment of fees. The Andhra Secretary has induced five District Boards to sanction such an exemption; but it is obvious that such an effort must be made on a much wider scale next year."

Referring to economic advancement, the report says: "The disease of poverty is an All-India ailment and by no means peculiar to Harijans, though sometimes observed in a virulent form among them. The economic field is vaster and far more complicated than the educational field. The evil of "Beggar" (forced labour) stands partly for a social disability, but mostly represents an antiquated system of customary payments in kind. It can be really abolished only by the abolition of the present basis of payment which is an extremely intricate adjustment of mutual economic rights and duties. Nor is the evil peculiar to Harijans or the insuperable concomitant of untouchability. The Punjab alone has attempted some little propaganda on this score but the results are not commensurate with the efforts for the evil is more deep-rooted and requires more radical remedies than the Sangh can offer.

An attempt has been made to secure employment for Harijans in the offices and welfare centres of the Sangh. According to the incomplete figures available 168 persons have been so employed. This figure is likely to be raised in the future but can never reach considerable proportions for the Sangh cannot offer employment to many. A more serious effort should however be made in the future to secure the employment of Harijans in industrial concerns and factories, more specially because industrially organised labour is the surest solvent of social distinctions. The Bombay, Calcutta, Cawnpore, Madras and Sholapur Sanghs should pay due attention to this work. But the Sangh has this year taken another definite step in the right direction for ameliorating the economic condition of Harijans. Knowing that most Harijans are engaged in Agriculture, Tanning and Weaving, a number of "Industrial Homes" or Harijan Karmalayas have been started in some provinces. The most important of these is the Hanri Shala of Karachi, started out of the munificent gift of Rs. 50,000 by the Mohatta family. Here about 20 Harijan boys are taught high class boot and shoe-making under an expert deputed from Dayalbagh. The course is for two years and the institution is expected to be self-supporting. A tailoring section is also attached. The Sabarmati Ashram has got a tanning and chapli-making section. The tanning department is run by a few Ashram boys who have the free use of buildings and tools and a loan of Rs. 1,200 to work on their account. The chapli department has admitted 21 boys so far, out of whom 6 have left after receiving full training and 3 have joined the Charmalaya as depended workers. The average monthly production is 800 pairs of chaplis and 300 pairs of shoes. The Harijan Colony at Allahabad, the College Research Institute of Calcutta and Harijan Karmalaya of Delhi are other institutions which will be starting work during the year 1934-35 and are expected to render a good account of themselves in the near future.

The report also dwells on the amelioration of social conditions and the removal of religious disabilities of Harijans. "The Bombay resolution of September 25, 1932, talks of abolishing untouchability by birth, of securing the same civic right for all Hindus and of removing the ban in respect of admission to temples. Such is the main purpose of that resolution and the success of the programme of the Sangh should be judged not merely by the number of schools opened or the number of Harijans employed essentially by the removal of socio-religious disabilities. It is believed that the Harijan masses are unalterable and unchangeable; that it will be difficult to rouse them from a state of deep somnolence. But in a couple of years the scene has changed and everywhere a consciousness of a new destiny seems to have vivified them. There is in all provinces a militant and a claimant section fighting for equal rights and privileges. The habit of personal cleanliness, the chief pride of the caste-Hindus and the chief ingredient of resulting untouchability will take more time and require greater exertions before it can be organised. And in this Harijans are as much sinned as sinners. In villages, they have little or no access to private or public wells. During the year 176 wells mostly in Andhra and Bihar are reported to have been thrown open for common use. Under J. K. Fund for water supply during the year 92 wells were sanctioned at an estimated cost of Rs. 18,690. The Central Board sanctioned a grant of Rs. 10,854-8-0 and the local donations raised were Rs. 7,030-8-0. Assam, Malabar, C.

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Continuing, Malaviyaji said that the different communities in India had more than once come to a communal agreement but on all the occasions the British Government's interference spoiled the whole thing. At the Allahabad Unity Conference the Muslims agreed to accept 32 per cent representation at the Centre, separation of Sind provided the province meets its expenses. But four days after the settlement, the Secretary of State announced that the Muslims shall have 33-1-4 per cent direct representation in the Central legislature and Sind would be formed into a separate province unconditionally.

Panditji asserted that he was fully prepared to undertake the settlement of communal problem and was sure of his success provided the British Government takes a pledge of non-interference. No self-government could stand on the basis of separate electorates and the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs should come to a compromise of their own accord. Panditji did not object to a Muslim majority, if it was elected on joint electorate basis but strongly condemned a statutory one on the communal lines. He appreciated the spirit of the Sikhs, who in spite of their being rulers of the Punjab before the British advent, were prepared to share the administration of their province with others. There was no necessity of reservation of seats for a majority community while protection was needed by the minorities. There would be no swaraj in the Punjab under the Communal Award and it would merely be a Muslim Raj.

Malaviyaji then said that the British Government had done the greatest favour to the Europeans and second to them to the Muslims and the greatest injustice was done to the Hindus at the Centre. Both Muslims and Europeans had received much more than they deserved and the Hindus much less than their due share. The British Government did not adopt uniform principle of giving representation to the various communities. They adopted different principles for Muslims, Hindus and the Sikhs. It was the imperative duty of the Government to allot at least 26 per cent seats to the Sikhs in the Punjab on the same principle on which the Muslims of the United Provinces had been given representation. The Muslims were spread over several provinces, but the Sikhs had only one province where they did not demand class rule but merely a reasonable share of control.

Touching the Muslim representation at the Centre, Malaviyaji said that the Muslims were about 25 per cent of India's population but they had been given more than 38 per cent at the centre. Panditji strongly objected to the declaration of British Government to the effect that the Communal Award was a settled fact so long as the communities did not come to another settlement of their own. Had it not been so, a communal settlement was very easy. The speaker expressed his readiness for communal negotiations with the Muslims if they did not insist on the benefits of the Communal Award. Proceeding further Panditji questioned the right of British Parliament of placing one community of India at the mercy of the other. Indians had every right to ask for freedom. The time for a free fight was a thing of past and India had decided to attain its freedom by constitutional and peaceful means. The British nation were also proclaiming that the ultimate goal of their policy in India was to place the control of the country in the hands of its people, but it was being done with the intention of giving the control of a motor car by placing huge stones on the road.

Replying to the critics, Malaviyaji said that he was not prepared to disclose his plans in case the Communal Award and the India Bill were not altered. He would thoroughly examine the structure of the entire building and then decide about the course of action. It was just possible, said Panditji, that if they met with dismal failure in securing necessary changes both in the Award and the India Bill, they might resort to non-co-operation. The British Government had committed blunders after blunders and the time for a country-wide agitation against the Award had arrived. Panditji agreed with those who say that by the time the deputation would reach England the India Bill might have passed almost all critical stages, for the Conservative Government were bent upon getting the same through but it was necessary to place the view-point of Indian public before the members of both Houses of Parliament at this stage. He deprecated the contention that the Indians were unfit to manage their affairs. He said only a century ago Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs had ruled over their country and he failed to see any reason as to why they would fail in ruling their country with a combined force and goodwill. If the British government declared its policy of non-interference in the communal settlement it was a question of a day of attainment. Explaining his mission to England, he said that although he had been asked by numerous sincere friends not to go to England for being insulted, yet his reply to them was that there was no greater insult than being slaves of a foreign nation.

Continuing, Malaviyaji said that the different communities in India had more than once come to a communal agreement but on all the occasions the British Government's interference spoiled the whole thing. At the Allahabad Unity Conference the Muslims agreed to accept 32 per cent representation at the Centre, separation of Sind provided the province meets its expenses. But four days after the settlement, the Secretary of State announced that the Muslims shall have 33-1-4 per cent direct representation in the Central legislature and Sind would be formed into a separate province unconditionally.

Panditji asserted that he was fully prepared to undertake the settlement of communal problem and was sure of his success provided the British Government takes a pledge of non-interference. No self-government could stand on the basis of separate electorates and the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs should come to a compromise of their own accord. Panditji did not object to a Muslim majority, if it was elected on joint electorate basis but strongly condemned a statutory one on the communal lines. He appreciated the spirit of the Sikhs, who in spite of their being rulers of the Punjab before the British advent, were prepared to share the administration of their province with others. There was no necessity of reservation of seats for a majority community while protection was needed by the minorities. There would be no swaraj in the Punjab under the Communal Award and it would merely be a Muslim Raj.

Malaviyaji then said that the British Government had done the greatest favour to the Europeans and second to them to the Muslims and the greatest injustice was done to the Hindus at the Centre. Both Muslims and Europeans had received much more than they deserved and the Hindus much less than their due share. The British Government did not adopt uniform principle of giving representation to the various communities. They adopted different principles for Muslims, Hindus and the Sikhs. It was the imperative duty of the Government to allot at least 26 per cent seats to the Sikhs in the Punjab on the same principle on which the Muslims of the United Provinces had been given representation. The Muslims were spread over several provinces, but the Sikhs had only one province where they did not demand class rule but merely a reasonable share of control.

Touching the Muslim representation at the Centre, Malaviyaji said that the Muslims were about 25 per cent of India's population but they had been given more than 38 per cent at the centre. Panditji strongly objected to the declaration of British Government to the effect that the Communal Award was a settled fact so long as the communities did not come to another settlement of their own. Had it not been so, a communal settlement was very easy. The speaker expressed his readiness for communal negotiations with the Muslims if they did not insist on the benefits of the Communal Award. Proceeding further Panditji questioned the right of British Parliament of placing one community of India at the mercy of the other. Indians had every right to ask for freedom. The time for a free fight was a thing of past and India had decided to attain its freedom by constitutional and peaceful means. The British nation were also proclaiming that the ultimate goal of their policy in India was to place the control of the country in the hands of its people, but it was being done with the intention of giving the control of a motor car by placing huge stones on the road.

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observe that there is no two opinion in the Congress circle in Bengal about the rejection of the Award. Because the B. P. C. authorities in their reply to Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose's communication from Genoa in this connection definitely stated :—

"As regard the Communal Award we maintain that there is practically no difference of opinion among the Congressmen in Bengal. Every Congressman considers it anti-national, inequitous and undemocratic and thinks that it should be rejected along with the J. P. C. Report."

This speaks for itself and any comment is needless. I appeal to you all to adhere to this observation of the Executive Council of the B. P. C. C.

To those who hold the view that the Communal Award should remain sacrosanct till an agreed settlement is arrived at, I would only point out that the author of the Award, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, also uses that specious plea against any attempt at reopening the Award. If it could come into existence irrespective of the wishes of the people, why should communal agreement be a condition precedent to its annulment. A little reflection would show that so long as the Award be there, there can be no agreed settlement. It can come only after undoing the Award, and not before it. The Nationalist Mussalmans in our midst also have taken this view. Because it is stated in a resolution, adopted by the Executive Committee of Nationalist Muhammadans in Bengal, that—"It (Award) had practically closed the door of settlement between the different communities, in so far as it has laid down that no settlement will be accepted unless it is made with the consent of all the communities concerned."

The truth of this observation goes without saying.

While rejecting the Award none need feel any undue concern about the settlement of the communal problem here. Barring other provinces the solution of this question in Bengal is by no means difficult. The inter-communal difference among the local people is not at all marked. The Hindus, Mussalmans and Indian Christians here—all belong to the same Bengali race differing only in religion, having community in language, dress, culture and traditions. Of course, there are communalists who thrive upon artificially creating difference to the denial of lesson of history.

Another word and I finish my observations regarding the Communal Award. It has been already mentioned that no agreed settlement is possible with the Award before us. The Congress also resents the intervention of a third party in what it considers a domestic question. But nevertheless at the end of February last the Congress President Sj. Rajendra Prasad entered into an agreement with Mr. Jinnah on the basis of the allocation of seats, as in Award. They, no doubt, agreed upon replacing the separate by the system of joint electorate. But the differential franchise that the Rajendra Prasad—Jinnah parleys suggested for the Hindus and Mussalmans with a view to bolster up the number of voters of the latter community, takes away much of the effects of the proposed joint electorate. It was, therefore, that we could not accept those terms. No good can come out of any settlement based on the Award unless it be on the lines of joint electorate, pure and simple, with modifications of other objectionable features of the Award. Consequently any settlement to be really equitable should be based on joint electorate with or without reservations for the minorities alone.

#### REACTIONARY "REFORMS"

Being based on the Communal Award, its discussion naturally leads to the question of the proposed constitutional reforms. These cannot be wrecked without wrecking the foundation. In view of the emphasis laid upon the Communal Award let us not think that this is the only objectionable feature of the reform proposals. In fact, these proposals are of so reactionary a character, that these can never be acceptable even if the Communal Award be modified, unless shorn of other objectionable features. Nevertheless the Communal Award need be emphasised. Because the Congress attitude towards the same has lent colour to the view that the reforms may be rejected without rejecting the Award. But the two are really inseparable. The need for a separate campaign against the Award has arisen from the fact that the Congress, while rejecting the reforms, failed to urge the rejection of the Award. Rejection of the reforms, and indirect acquiescence in the Award go ill together. Although the Congress has urged the rejection of the reforms, it has not defined the means which consists either of complete non-co-operation or obstruction within the legislature. Although ideally the best under the present circumstance it may not be acceptable to the people. Then the other is the only alternative left open to us, without however, the acceptance of office. It is much

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In conclusion my appeal goes to you for closing up of the Congress ranks. You are all aware of the fervent appeal of our exiled leader, Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, in this connection. The difference in our ranks has been the cause of Bengal's undoing. As at present there are no two honest opinions with regard to Bengal's peculiar problems and for the solution there can be no earthly reason why jointly we should not undertake the responsibility of furthering the Congress work and ideal to the full. Let the ideal of unity be the message of the Conference to the country. May Dinajpur earn the undying fame of composing up our differences—Bande Mataram !

#### RESOLUTIONS—Second Day—20th. April 1935.

The formal proceedings of the Conference commenced to-day, the chair moving a resolution condoling with the death of Congress workers and leaders all over the country during the last four years, including among others V. J. Patal, J. M. Sengupta, Bepin Chandra Pal, B. N. Sasmal, Abhayankar, T. A. K. Sherwani and Rangaswami Iyenger. This resolution was unanimously adopted by the whole house standing.

#### SUFFERINGS OF WORKERS

The next resolution was : "This Conference places on record its profound appreciation of the services rendered to the national cause by all those people of Bengal who have suffered in pursuance of the Civil Disobedience programme of voluntary offering and who in accordance with the Congress advice without suffering any defence or bail served and are serving various periods of imprisonment, and calls upon the people of Bengal to keep alive this spirit of sacrifice and to maintain unbroken the struggle for freedom."

#### FREE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

*Sj. Panchanan Basu* next moved the following resolution : "As free elementary education is the primary and urgent need of the masses, this Conference urges on all Congress organisations of Bengal to introduce the same on national lines in their respective areas and requests the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to appoint a Committee to prepare a scheme for organising and financing national education in Bengal and for that purpose to raise funds, prepare a budget and submit proposals to the B. P. C. C. for their approval and sanction."

#### VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

*Sj. Jatindra Nath Roy* of Bogra next moved the following resolution : "This Conference appeals to the people of Bengal to use articles produced in villages and further requests them, specially the Congressmen, to help the All-India Village Industries Association in their endeavour for the revival or improvement of the cottage industries."

#### REPRESSIVE POLICY

*Sj. Birendra Nath Mazumdar* next move the following resolution : "This conference enters its protest against the Government policy of repression and calls upon the people of Bengal to demand release of detenus and the withdrawal of repressive laws."

#### CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

*Sj. Amarendra Nath Chatterjee* moved as follows :

"Whereas it is the inalienable right of the Indian people to determine their own constitution and whereas only a constituent Assembly elected by the entire nation can be convened when the nation has acquired sufficient strength to achieve its object of complete independence and can frame such a constitution, this Conference is of opinion that the constitution which is sought to be forced upon this country, should be wrecked. To this end the Indian National Congress should make it its object to make the operation of that constitution impossible by capturing the legislatures set up under the new constitution and by refusing to accept the offices of ministers followed by persistent obstruction compelling the Government to suspend the sham constitution and by preparing the country for direct action through which alone can the nation realise its right to self-determination."

#### PEASANT'S CONDITION

*Sj. Panchanan Basu* next moved the following resolution which also was carried unanimously :—"In view of the deplorable economic condition of the peasants of Bengal this Conference requests the B. P. C. C. to form a sub-committee to enquire into actual conditions, that is to say their indebtedness, rate of interest, productivity of soil, in-

In conclusion my appeal goes to you for closing up of the Congress ranks. You are all aware of the fervent appeal of our exiled leader, Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, in this connection. The difference in our ranks has been the cause of Bengal's undoing. As at present there are no two honest opinions with regard to Bengal's peculiar problems and for the solution there can be no earthly reason why jointly we should not undertake the responsibility of furthering the Congress work and ideal to the full. Let the ideal of unity be the message of the Conference to the country. May Dinajpur earn the undying fame of composing up our differences—Bande Mataram !

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object of devising all possible means for an agreed solution of the question in this province".

Mr. Chakravarti accepted both the amendments and the amended resolution was carried with only four delegates dissenting.

#### UPLIFT OF HARIJANS

Mr. Charu Roy of Tangail next moved the following resolution :

"This Conference considers that untouchability is a curse eating into the vitals of the nation, and so appeals to all, specially Congressmen, not to observe untouchability personally and to help the Harijan Sevak Sangha in its endeavours for the uplift of Harijans."

#### DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

"While not opposing any propaganda tour in England or elsewhere to enlighten public opinion against the Communal Award, this Conference is strongly of opinion that any attempt to alter or maintain the Communal Award by sending a deputation to British Government is futile and derogatory to India's self respect and respectfully requests Congressmen who might be thinking of leading such a deputation in England to give up that idea."

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## The Punjab Political Conference

### Opening Day—Lahore—6th. April 1935

The twentieth session of the Punjab Political Conference commenced at Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore on the 6th. April 1935 under the presidentship of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Prominent among those present were Babu Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Kripalani, Dr. Kitchlew, Mr. K. Sanatanam and Dr. Gopichand Bhargava.

After Lala Dunichand of Lahore, Chairman of the Reception Committee, had welcomed the delegates, Mrs. Naidu delivered her address in Urdu. She said that it saddened her heart to see such a poor attendance (barely 500 present) contrasted to the dense crowds who had flocked on the banks of the Ravi to hear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru raise the cry of Swaraj not so many years ago.

The Congress was still lively in Bombay, Madras, Bihar, U. P., Central Provinces, etc., but "the durwan of India, the watchdog on India's kismet" was sleeping. It was here, she said, that Punjab's martyrs kindled the national life anew 16 years ago, but now it seemed as though fear had chilled their soul or selfishness damped their ardour.

She said that it was the Punjab with its manly races who had given the attributes of nationhood to India to raise her head among the free nations, but to-day when the Sikhs were acting as anything but a brave people, they and the Hindus were wrangling like the meanest banias for a seat here and a seat there; they presented a spectacle which filled every Indian heart with shame.

She asked Congressmen to go to villages to propagate the ideas of nationalism and Swaraj among villagers and teach them that Swaraj meant more bread and raiment for them. Workers should approach the poor, she added, not in a spirit of touch-and-go, but mix with them as one of them and teach them self-respect and the essential equality of spirit. She also mentioned that the Hindu Sabha, the Muslim League and the Sikh organisations had to-day raised their voice against the Congress. She held that but for their divisions among themselves, the Communal Award would never have come into existence. Proceeding, the speaker referred to Gandhiji's programme of village uplift, and said that the constructive work like that would advance the cause of freedom and country. She did not think that much could be achieved by work in the Assembly and Councils so long as there was the power of certification of the Viceroy and the Governors, except exposing before the bar of the world the real nature of India's subjection.

She appealed to the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Moslems to close up their ranks and concentrate their attention on attaining freedom as one united nation.

She concluded with an appeal to the youth of the Punjab to regain their life even as Savitri regained the life of her husband by sheer soul force and infuse that life in the villages for which the way had been shown by Mr. Gandhi.

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constitution, which the British Government is bent upon foisting on the country, in the teeth of almost universal opposition, is a cruel mockery of the Independence, of which we fought. The Hindustani Seva Dal, the "Khudai Khidmatgars", and many other similar Congress organizations, youth leagues, ashrams and other national educational institutions, are still under a ban. The Congress cannot function in the North-West Frontier Province. We are not strong enough to secure the release of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and several other Congressmen who are in jail. Nor have we the power to see that the hundreds of youths of Bengal, who are detained, are either released or tried in a court of law. While there is no shame in acknowledging the failure of our struggle so far as the attainment of our main objective, namely, freedom, is concerned, we have, however, no cause for despair. There is ample compensation in the fact that the struggle has revealed to us our own inherent strength and the almost illimitable resources of service and sacrifice that we possess.

In the moving speech that he made in the Congress House, Bombay, last week, Mahatma Gandhi declared that there was no disappointment in his heart and that the happenings in the country gave him no cause for despair. To those, who know Gandhiji, this is no mere expression of facile optimism but the statement of a simple truth. Gandhiji, in the course of the speech, said that the portals of Swaraj were always open for us provided we faithfully carried out the constructive programme of the Congress. I regard these two statements of Gandhiji as constituting a message of hope—hope that if we do not give way to despair but, realizing our strength, faithfully and earnestly carry out the programme the Congress has placed before us, it will not be long before Gandhiji resumes his active leadership and together we enter the portals of Swaraj. Gandhiji has made a special appeal for support to the work of the All-India Village Industries Association. We may not accept the programme of that Association as a complete solution of our economic problem. But India is pre-eminently the land of villages. The work of the All-India Village Industries Association offers him a ray of hope and it is the duty of all of us to do all we can to support the Association until having attained political power we are able so to reconstruct and regenerate rural life as to afford the villager the fullest opportunity for self-realization.

The new constitution is, as I stated above, a mockery of the independence that we are determined to win.

There are many of our fellow-countrymen who think that it is due to our defeat that the governing classes in Britain have whittled down their own original scheme of "reforms." I do not think this is the true explanation of the undoubted domination of reactionary forces in the counsels of Britain so far as the policy towards India is concerned.

We may deplore this desire of the British governing classes to continue the domination of India, but we cannot quarrel with it. They are themselves in the grip of incalculable forces of Capitalism and Imperialism which blunt their sense of justice and fairplay. Perhaps, if a miracle happens within the next few years and a genuinely Socialist Government comes into effective power in Britain and is willing to carry out British Labour's oft-repeated pledges to India of complete self-determination, we may expect to have a honourable settlement with Britain. But we cannot bank on a miracle happening. We have to be masters of our own destiny. We have realised that freedom is not a gift that can be given by one nation to another but is an inalienable right that can be won only by our own unaided but organised effort.

The phenomenal success of Congress candidates at the last Assembly elections demonstrated the immense hold which our national organisation has over the hearts of the people,—a hold which no amount of repression can affect as Lord Willingdon has, we hope, realised. Parliamentary work by itself will not carry us to our goal. But it can contribute a great deal towards helping forward Congress propaganda and creating new allies for the Congress. The Congress Party in the Assembly, under the leadership of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, has already made a very good beginning in this direction and has received the appreciation of the All-India Congress Committee at its Jubbulpore meeting. There are many Congressmen, and I am one of them, who regret that the Party has as yet taken no step to carry out one of its pledges to the electorate by formulating a demand for a Constituent Assembly. I am fully aware that a genuine and effective Constituent Assembly can only be held when we have developed the necessary sanction to enable its decisions to be implemented. But the business of the Parliamentary Party is not to forge the sanction; that sanction can only be forged by work outside the legislatures. It is its function to formulate the

constitution, which the British Government is bent upon foisting on the country, in the teeth of almost universal opposition, is a cruel mockery of the Independence, of which we fought. The Hindustani Seva Dal, the "Khudai Khidmatgars", and many other similar Congress organizations, youth leagues, ashrams and other national educational institutions, are still under a ban. The Congress cannot function in the North-West Frontier Province. We are not strong enough to secure the release of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and several other Congressmen who are in jail. Nor have we the power to see that the hundreds of youths of Bengal, who are detained, are either released or tried in a court of law. While there is no shame in acknowledging the failure of our struggle so far as the attainment of our main objective, namely, freedom, is concerned, we have, however, no cause for despair. There is ample compensation in the fact that the struggle has revealed to us our own inherent strength and the almost illimitable resources of service and sacrifice that we possess.

In the moving speech that he made in the Congress House, Bombay, last week, Mahatma Gandhi declared that there was no disappointment in his heart and that the happenings in the country gave him no cause for despair. To those, who know Gandhiji, this is no mere expression of facile optimism but the statement of a simple truth. Gandhiji, in the course of the speech, said that the portals of Swaraj were always open for us provided we faithfully carried out the constructive programme of the Congress. I regard these two statements of Gandhiji as constituting a message of hope—hope that if we do not give way to despair but, realizing our strength, faithfully and earnestly carry out the programme the Congress has placed before us, it will not be long before Gandhiji resumes his active leadership and together we enter the portals of Swaraj. Gandhiji has made a special appeal for support to the work of the All-India Village Industries Association. We may not accept the programme of that Association as a complete solution of our economic problem. But India is pre-eminently the land of villages. The work of the All-India Village Industries Association offers him a ray of hope and it is the duty of all of us to do all we can to support the Association until having attained political power we are able so to reconstruct and regenerate rural life as to afford the villager the fullest opportunity for self-realization.

The new constitution is, as I stated above, a mockery of the independence that we are determined to win.

There are many of our fellow-countrymen who think that it is due to our defeat that the governing classes in Britain have whittled down their own original scheme of "reforms." I do not think this is the true explanation of the undoubtedly domination of reactionary forces in the counsels of Britain so far as the policy towards India is concerned.

We may deplore this desire of the British governing classes to continue the domination of India, but we cannot quarrel with it. They are themselves in the grip of incalculable forces of Capitalism and Imperialism which blunt their sense of justice and fairplay. Perhaps, if a miracle happens within the next few years and a genuinely Socialist Government comes into effective power in Britain and is willing to carry out British Labour's oft-repeated pledges to India of complete self-determination, we may expect to have a honourable settlement with Britain. But we cannot bank on a miracle happening. We have to be masters of our own destiny. We have realised that freedom is not a gift that can be given by one nation to another but is an inalienable right that can be won only by our own unaided but organised effort.

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pretend that here is no difference of views between them. But the things which unite them are infinitely more numerous than those which divide them. Even the differences between them are such as are capable of adjustment by constant and frank consultation prompted by a spirit of compromise. I have not the least doubt that if such a consultation takes place between the spokesmen of the two sections of the Congress a programme can be evolved which all Congressmen will carry out with zeal and devotion. I have laid special emphasis on the need for an understanding between the two sections of the Congress because I feel that it constitutes the paramount issue before the country to-day apart, of course, from increasing the membership of the Congress and carrying out its constructive programme. I trust the conference, by its works, will make a helpful contribution to this urgent national task of creating the maximum of unanimity of action with the minimum of diversity of views among Congressmen.

### RESOLUTIONS—Second day—29th. May 1935

The Conference resumed its session this morning and passed the following resolutions. Condolence resolutions on the death of V. J. Patel, J. M. Sen-Gupta, Dr. Besant, Abhyankar, Sherwani, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, K. Madhavan Nair, T. R. Krishnaswami Aiyar and others who have died in the cause of India's freedom were moved from the chair and passed.

#### THE CONGRESS AND INDIAN STATES

Mr. A. Ramachandran then moved: "Inasmuch as the Indian States constitute a political and military support to British Imperialism, and a source of feudal backwardness and reaction, this Conference declares that in the interests of the Indian National Congress as those of the people of Indian States, the abolition of the rule of the Indian Princes can alone assure complete independence for the whole of India and invites the people of the Indian States to fight side by side with the people of British India in the struggle for independence."

"This Conference further feels that the Indian National Congress should actively engage itself in organising the State's subjects on the basis of their immediate democratic demands side by side with developing and intensifying the economic struggle of workers and peasants in the States. The immediate democratic demands should include the following:—(1) A single Chamber legislature elected on adult franchise; (2) A Ministry elected by and completely responsible to, the legislature; (3) the Royal family to have access as privy purse, to not more than 5 per cent of the State's revenue; (4) the religion of the Royal families to have no influence on the administration of the State and (5) freedom of speech, press and association."

Mr. P. Krishna Pannikar (Pennani) moved a resolution to the effect that India should not participate in any war in Europe even though Britain was involved in it.

Mr. P. Narayanan Nair then moved: "Whereas it is the inalienable right of the Indian people to determine their own constitution and whereas only a constituent Assembly, elected by the entire nation and convened when the nation has acquired sufficient strength to achieve its object of complete independence can frame such a constitution, this Conference is of opinion that the constitution which is sought to be forced upon the country should be wrecked".

He also moved as part of the resolution that Congressmen should not accept office. Their object after entering the legislatures, said the mover, should be only to wreck the constitution.

The Conference also passed a resolution moved from the Chair demanding the immediate release or trial in courts of the Bengal detenus and appealing to the public to render financial aid to their distressed families.

#### CHANGE OF CONGRESS CREED DEMANDED

Mr. A. K. Pillai, of Coimbatore, moved the following resolution: "This Conference recommends to the Indian National Congress to change its creed so that the goal of complete independence must mean the establishment of an independent state in which power is transferred to the producing masses and that such an objective involves the refusal to compromise at any stage with British Imperialism."

#### ORGANISATION OF LABOUR PEASANTRY

Mr. K. Kumar of Travancore moved a resolution calling upon the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee to organise the labour and the peasantry of the province on the basis of some labour demands such as freedom of labour and from serfdom, the right to form unions, strike and picket, compulsory recognition by the employers of the worker's unions, a living wage, etc.

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"The whole weight of our social, political, economic and theological life falls on the villager; and priest and politico official and merchant, banker and landlord alike exploit him. It is he who has to work hardest, it is he who is most useful, and it is he who suffers the most and pays the most. It must be the endeavour of everyone of us to do the best we can to alleviate the sorrows and raise the spirits of our humble brethren. Mahatma Gandhi's work in this, as in many directions, can not be under-estimated. It is he who has taught us self-respect and self-esteem and showed us that the way to win them is by identifying ourselves with the poorest and the most down-trodden in the remotest village. His new schemes for reviving village industries deserve our active support, and I may only hope that the beautiful surroundings in which you live, you would be able to make still more beautiful by making all men and women and children living in town and country therein happy and contented with an equitable distribution of work, wages and leisure among them and with proper food, clothing, housing and education for all.

"But I dare not proceed without sounding a note of warning which is the outcome of my own little experience during a large number of years. We should not be too optimistic, because the villager unhappily is his own worst enemy. We need not discuss the causes that have resulted in this mentality in him. The fact remains that he will not be organised, he will not look to his own interests, he will fight his neighbour and distrust his friend.

"Every village is an epitome of a world at war, and from the earliest years of childhood every village man and woman grows up in much traditional hatreds and family feuds, that common village life and organisation for common ends have become impossible.

"His intense attachments to his small little plots of land complicates the problem of his life much more than can possibly be imagined by those who do not know him. I cannot but feel that conditions here must be the same as else-where and you will have to tackle this psychological problem in a spirit of sympathy and understanding. I only pray that you may succeed where many have failed.

"It would serve useful purpose to the history of our recent past; to talk of the high hopes of the great endeavours of successes and failures during the last few years. I cannot deny that we are passing through a period of intense depression. It is in such periods alone that nations and individuals alike are tested. There is no need for despair, for not the worst pessimist amongst us can imagine that the depression is going to last for ever. My own feeling is that that is just the time when we should be able to make clear to ourselves as well as to the world at large what exactly we stand for.

Without doubt we want a reconstruction of society. We are tired of the present inequalities of life; and in this connection we must welcome the Congress Socialist Party, which is trying to formulate the national demands in clear and precise language. I should respectfully suggest that, viewed even from a selfish standpoint, socialism will give them something that is of real gain even for themselves. Men of position and power, of wealth and of leisure, cannot fail to realise that the things they prize are themselves endangered when the many around them live in dirt and poverty without the light that knowledge and comfort gives. The poverty of the neighbour inexorably reacts on the wealthy; and disease and death come unsuspected within sheltered walls because men outside are unhappy and unclean.

It is time that we placed before the country our exact ideas about the society we are seeking to build. That will help all to know what we want and will eliminate all doubts and suspicions and, may be, false hopes and ambitions as well—that so unnecessarily clog us at every step.

"I am sure you will not want me to speak of communal differences. That is not a subject happily that troubles you very much in this part of the world. I come fresh from a province which is full of it, and recently we have witnessed some of the worst horrors that these senseless squabbles can perpetrate. The Cawnpore Riots enquiry Committee appointed by the Karachi Congress has, to my mind, said the last word on the subject. We can only hope that we may still learn wisdom from the terrible happenings of the past and not make ourselves willing victims of scheming men and their calculated policies. It is for us to cultivate a purely nationalistic and humanistic outlook against all odds, free from all heart-narrowing encumbrances of class, caste or communal bias. We can do this if we will; and the longer we delay in this the worse will be our position and the wider will get the chasm that separates us from our hope and ideal of Purna Swaraj.

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"Let it be known by those who may be frightened by the activities of Congressmen that Congress stands for all, and that we do not and cannot countenance violence of any sort, for we are not thirsting for the blood or the wealth of any one. We are definitely out to establish a state of Society wherein, so far as is humanly possible, all persons will be dealt with equitably. Our methods must always be peaceful and legitimate; and if there must be suffering in the process, it must be inflicted only upon ourselves.

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## The Andhra Provincial Nationalist Conference

### Opening Day—Guntur—20th. February 1935.

The Andhra Provincial Congress Nationalist Conference was held at Guntur on the **20th Februay 1935** under the presidency of *Dr. B. S. Moonjee*. In the course of his address Dr. B. S. Moonje referred to the circumstances that led to the formation of the Congress Nationalist Party, the Congress attitude towards the Communal Award and the Nationalists' opposition to it. "It is often said by British statesmen that the communal problem of India is not of British make but it is inherent in the traditional inter-communal relations of the different religious communities inhabiting India. But those of us, who will not fail to keep green in mind the well-known history of the manufacture and growth of the communal problem in India, will not be easily duped."

Proceeding he said : "The communal problem of India is entirely a product of British diplomacy purposely manufactured for perpetuating their hold on India by creating and maintaining circumstances under which the communities will be at loggerheads with each other and ever needing the help of the British for their protection and safety." He then analysed the Communal Award and pointed out that it is "disruptive, anti-national and grossly unjust to the Hindus."

#### CONGRESS ATTITUDE CRITICISED

He described at length the discussions over the communal question at the Round Table Conference and stated that the "Award was not an award of an arbitrator but purely an arbitrary decision of the British bureaucracy.

Criticising the Congress attitude towards the Award, he said that not only was it self-contradictory, but was of dubious expediency. If it was intended to obtain Muslim support, it had proved futile. "What did the Congress gain", he asked, "at the cost of nationalism and over the ruin of the Hindu interests ? Did the Muslim support them in rejecting the Report summarily ? Did the Congress Party in the Assembly, at least keep its promise to the Congress and to the voters ? The Congress Party was pledged for two things—first to reject and vote against the entire Report and second to oppose both acceptance or rejection of the Award. Let us, from this point of view, analyse the strategy of the Congress Party and the result of voting and see how the trust was managed. The Congress has not been able to placate the Moslems and to win them over to join them for rejecting the Report. Their resolution was thrown out because the Moslems went against them actively and with deliberate determination. We cannot however blame the Congress Party for their inability to get through their resolution of entire rejection. The Assembly is so constituted that they could never command a majority in it, but we blame them for having deliberately ignored all warnings both by the Congressmen and their sympathisers and well-wishers and for their colossal ignorance of human nature as it is." The two vital points of the Moslems, according to Dr. Moonje, were the Communal Award and Provincial Autonomy and Mr. Jinnah had cleverly manoeuvred to win their points.

Dr. Moonje bitterly criticised the Congress Party's resolution for the acceptance of the Communal Award. He said : "The Congress admits that the Award is anti-national and grossly unjust to the Hindus" but it will neither reject it nor accept it for the sake of the amicable settlement of the communal question by agreement between the Hindus and the Moslems."

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Turning to the task before the peoples, he said :—“Poor though we are as a nation, men of means of our community, individually and collectively, must find money for similar training of our youths, by establishing Gymnasiums, Rifle shooting ranges, and organisation games, boxing, wrestling, drilling, swimming, lathi and sword plays etc., Andhra is as big as Maharashtra, though richer in means of living. As I have been telling the Maharashtra, so I appeal to the Hindus of Andhra to raise and train under one organised command a Volunteer Corps—Ramdandus—of one lakh of young men. If some of you have time and interest, I would request you to go one day to Nagpur and see with your own eyes, the organisation of my friend, Dr. Hedgewar—the Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangh—and the training that is given there.”

#### SEPARATE ANDHRA PROVINCE

Referring to the demand of the Andhras for a separate province, he said :

“I am personally, on principle, opposed to it. I want India to evolve as a united nation as it was in the past when we were the masters in our own country. I do not want India to be divided first into Moslem India, and Hindu India, as the Moslems want and are dreaming and then into so many different and separate nationalities on the basis of their provincial languages, such as Europe has been. These nationalities of Europe, though they profess the same religion—Christianity—and are practically of the same white race and can and do sometimes intermarry among themselves are running at each other’s throats, simply because they have been founded on the basis not of their common religion and race but of their different provincial languages. That is why I have been constantly opposing the Moslem proposal of separation of Sind and discouraging the thought of organising an agitation for the formation of one province of all Marathi-speaking people of the entire Maharashtra. In short, I feel that we must do our best to avoid imitating Europe in this respect, if possible.

“But the Congress, the one leading organisation of Indian politics, has, since Mahatma Gandhi assumed its dictatorship accepted this principle of division and actually divided India into so many different and separate provinces according to their provincial languages. But the point would not have gained importance and the poison of communalism would not have spread far and wide and infected every phase of life, if the Moslems had not conceived and developed what we may call Islamic patriotism with its distinguishing characteristic of separation and isolation from non-Islamic politics.

“Though the Congress under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi was the first to agree to the Moslem proposal of separation of Sind in its desire to keep up a show of Moslem association and its claim of representing Moslems also equally with the Hindus in the politics of India, the Hindu Mahasabha true to its ideal of pure, unalloyed Nationalism, has alone been the consistent and determined opponent of such highly disruptive communalism.” However, he wished the Andhras success in their efforts to get a separate province for themselves.

Concluding his long address, Dr. Voonje pleaded for the development of Hindu nationalism which would make every Hindu come to the help of another Hindu in any other part of India, even as Muslim rallied to Muslim to-day. “Hindus must cultivate an equally strong communal sense and be prepared to run to the help of the Hindus in frontier provinces, like Sind, Punjab, Bengal and Assam. As the Islamic politics concerns and is organised for the interests of the entire Moslem community of India, so also the Hindus must rise and combine in the Hindu Mahasabha to look after and protect the interests of the entire Hindu community of India. Nationalism is thus the amalgam of these two communal politics of India.”

## The Andhra Provincial Socialist Conference

**Opening Day—Guntur—19th. February 1935**

The first session of the Andhra Provincial Congress Socialists' Conference was held at Guntur on the 19th. February 1935 under the presidency of Mr. T. Viswanatham,

Turning to the task before the peoples, he said :—“Poor though we are as a nation, men of means of our community, individually and collectively, must find money for similar training of our youths, by establishing Gymnasiums, Rifle shooting ranges, and organisation games, boxing, wrestling, drilling, swimming, lathi and sword plays etc., Andhra is as big as Maharashtra, though richer in means of living. As I have been telling the Maharashtra, so I appeal to the Hindus of Andhra to raise and train under one organised command a Volunteer Corps—Ramdanus—of one lakh of young men. If some of you have time and interest, I would request you to go one day to Nagpur and see with your own eyes, the organisation of my friend, Dr. Hedgewar—the Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangh—and the training that is given there.”

#### SEPARATE ANDHRA PROVINCE

Referring to the demand of the Andhras for a separate province, he said :

“I am personally, on principle, opposed to it. I want India to evolve as a united nation as it was in the past when we were the masters in our own country. I do not want India to be divided first into Moslem India, and Hindu India, as the Moslems want and are dreaming and then into so many different and separate nationalities on the basis of their provincial languages, such as Europe has been. These nationalities of Europe, though they profess the same religion—Christianity—and are practically of the same white race and can and do sometimes intermarry among themselves are running at each other’s throats, simply because they have been founded on the basis not of their common religion and race but of their different provincial languages. That is why I have been constantly opposing the Moslem proposal of separation of Sind and discouraging the thought of organising an agitation for the formation of one province of all Marathi-speaking people of the entire Maharashtra. In short, I feel that we must do our best to avoid imitating Europe in this respect, if possible.

“But the Congress, the one leading organisation of Indian politics, has, since Mahatma Gandhi assumed its dictatorship accepted this principle of division and actually divided India into so many different and separate provinces according to their provincial languages. But the point would not have gained importance and the poison of communalism would not have spread far and wide and infected every phase of life, if the Moslems had not conceived and developed what we may call Islamic patriotism with its distinguishing characteristic of separation and isolation from non-Islamic politics.

“Though the Congress under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi was the first to agree to the Moslem proposal of separation of Sind in its desire to keep up a show of Moslem association and its claim of representing Moslems also equally with the Hindus in the politics of India, the Hindu Mahasabha true to its ideal of pure, unalloyed Nationalism, has alone been the consistent and determined opponent of such highly disruptive communalism.” However, he wished the Andhras success in their efforts to get a separate province for themselves.

Concluding his long address, Dr. Woonje pleaded for the development of Hindu nationalism which would make every Hindu come to the help of another Hindu in any other part of India, even as Muslim rallied to Muslim to-day. “Hindus must cultivate an equally strong communal sense and be prepared to run to the help of the Hindus in frontier provinces, like Sind, Punjab, Bengal and Assam. As the Islamic politics concerns and is organised for the interests of the entire Moslem community of India, so also the Hindus must rise and combine in the Hindu Mahasabha to look after and protect the interests of the entire Hindu community of India. Nationalism is thus the amalgam of these two communal politics of India.”

## The Andhra Provincial Socialist Conference

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**Resolution Passed**

The conference lent its unanimous support to the resolution already passed at the All-India Congress Socialist Party defining the meaning of 'complete Independence' as 'the establishment of an Independent State in which power is transferred to the producing masses', implying a 'refusal to compromise at any stage with British Imperialism'.

Another resolution of the All-India Party reiterated at this conference expressed that it was necessary for the conference to declare its opposition to the participation by India in any war in which the British Government might be involved and to undertake forthwith the preparation of the entire Indian nation to resist actively the utilisation of Indian men, money and resources for the purpose of such a war and to utilise such a crisis for securing Swaraj.

The conference called upon the Indian National Congress to adopt a policy of wrecking the new constitution which was going to be imposed on India.

The Conference sent greetings to the textile workers of Calicut in their struggle against wage-cuts.

Inviting the people of the Indian States to fight side by side with the people of British India in the struggle for Independence, the conference opined that inasmuch as the Indian States constituted a political and military ally of British Imperialism and a source of feudal backwardness and reaction, the conference declared that the interests of the people of the Indian States were as much the concern of the Indian National Congress as those of the people of British India.

Among other resolutions passed one denounced in emphatic terms the continued incarceration without trial of thousand of Bengal detainees and called for the observance of March 3rd. as 'Detenu Day' as a protest against their detention.

The policy of the Congress Party in the Assembly in watering down the Congress demand in order to obtain a paper majority through the support of non-Congress parties was deplored. Particular protests were levelled against the lack of any reference to the right of self-determination, the demand for a Constituent Assembly and the rejection of the coming constitution of the Congress resolution on the J. P. C. Report.

The Conference was of the opinion that the attitude of the Congress M. L. A's. in supporting Mr. Jinnah's compromising amendment amounted to admission of the insolent claim of the British Parliament to dictate a constitution for this country.

After passing several other resolutions for the future working of the party in Andhra Desa, the conference terminated.

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## **The Kerala Provincial Socialists' Conference**

### **Opening Day—Calicut—27th. May 1935**

The second session of the Kerala Provincial Congress Socialists' Conference was held at Calicut on the 27th. May 1935 under the presidency of Mr. M. R. Masani. In the course of his speech, Mr. Masani said that the Congress Socialist Party was proud of the Congress and desired to be loyal to it and to its highest traditions. They should be careful not to create any misunderstandings between themselves and those Congressmen who did not see eye to eye with them, but who were as keen as they were to carry on the movement for National Independence.

What was it that the Indian National Congress and the movement for the Independence were fighting for? Was it a Government, or a nation or a system that they were struggling against? Was the Indian freedom movement a struggle of one country against another? Was it merely a racial fight? It was obvious that such was not the case.

"The Indian struggle for independence is not a struggle of one nation against another," he continued "or of a people against a particular administration, but of the toiling masses in this country against a system, political and economic, which is known as Imperialism. In order, therefore, to arrive at correct decisions it is necessary for every participant in this struggle for independence, for every Congressman, indeed for every politically conscious Indian to try and understand what this system of Im-

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Ministerial offices and getting it suspended and then of going to the country to forge sanctions which would make the demand for the constituent assembly possible and the decisions of the assembly effective.

In the Congress on the other hand there were people who believed that the constitution should be worked for what it was worth ; but he could not agree with that view, as there was not the slightest chance of getting any relief by working the constitution. On the contrary he thought the working of the constitution would lead to demoralisation and disruption of the national movement.

Whatever decision the Congress might ultimately take on this issue, the task of the Party was clear. There was ample room for division of labour in the Congress. Their Party's plan of action stressed the need for influencing the Congress ideology by the spread of socialist ideas and organising the peasants and workers so as to harness all forces together when the time for action came.

He then dealt at great length with the world situation and explained the significance of the anti-war resolution adopted by the Party. He felt that India should be greatly interested in the world situation, because it might prove either a disaster for India or a saviour or blessing in disguise. If instead of sitting and waiting for what was coming, they took advantage of the situation and turned it to their advantage, it might as well prove a good opportunity to secure Swaraj.

#### Resolutions

Resolutions on the continued incarceration of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the illness of Mr. M. N. Roy and on the detenus of Bengal were passed. The conference requested the Research Committee of the Kerala Congress Socialist Party to investigate into the problem of the Indian States with particular reference to the condition of the labourers in the States in Kerala and to submit its report. Mr. H. Manjunatha Rao then moved a resolution that India should not participate in any European war. This was duly seconded by Mr. Sridhar of Travancore. Mr. K. Madhavanar moved an amendment that the country should utilise the crisis of any European war to the country's own advantage and Mr. A. K. Pillai opposed the amendment which was put to vote and lost, only Mr. Madhavanar voting for it. The resolution was then put to vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. K. P. Gopalan of Cannanore moved a resolution regarding the attitude of the Socialists towards the reforms on the anvil, similar to the one passed at the meeting of the All-India Socialist Party at Bombay (i. e. to wreck the constitution and for non-acceptance of office). This was duly seconded by Mr. Vishnu Bharateeyan. Mr. K. Madhavanar moved an amendment to delete the portion regarding the non-acceptance of office by Congressmen. In moving the amendment, Mr. Madhavanar said that they must either utilise the coming reforms for betterment or wreck it. In his opinion it would be better if Congressmen accepted Ministerships and fought from within the Cabinet. In this connection he referred to the services rendered by the late Mr. V. J. Patel, when he was the President of the Indian Legislative Assembly. The amendment was opposed by Messrs. K. Krishna Bhat, of Wynad and Keraleeyam of Cannanore. When it was put to vote it was declared lost, only Mr. Madhavanar voting for it. The resolution was then put to vote and carried unanimously.

The Conference then passed resolutions, accepting the resolution of the Bombay Conference of the All-India Congress Socialist Party on the Indian States and resolving to organise the Indian States' subjects to put forth democratic demands and side by side, developing and intensifying the economic struggle of workers and peasants in the States, requesting the All-India Congress Committee to redress the grievances of peasants by forming them into strong union and calling upon the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee to organise them to put forth certain demands, such as abolition of the land revenue system and income-tax on incomes on land, and transfer of land to the actual cultivator, etc.

With a few remarks from the chair and with a vote of thanks the Conference came to a close.

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With a few remarks from the chair and with a vote of thanks the Conference came to a close.

**Presidential Address**

Following are extracts from his address :—

Criticisms coming from the right are generally of a two-fold nature. One criticism is that the Congress Socialists are first and foremost inter-nationalists and as such cannot be wholly depended upon in the fight for independence. It is said that situations may arise in which we may be persuaded to sacrifice the freedom of our country for the sake of socialism. Let me at once disarm the suspicion by stating emphatically that there is no antagonism between independence and socialism. As a matter of fact, socialism cannot be built without the conquest of power and in the present conditions of India the anti-imperialist struggle is only a prelude to socialism. We are not lacking in national pride either. Of course we hate chauvinism and do not subscribe to the dictum "my country, right or wrong." Nor do we want to deprive other peoples of their inheritance but rather wish to cultivate friendly relations with them and build in co-operation a world society that is free from exploitation and oppression and is founded on free association of mankind.

The other criticism is that we are disrupting the struggle for independence by raising the issue of class struggle at this stage. We may be forgiven for pointing out that under present conditions it is impossible to win independence without mobilising the workers and peasants for the political struggle. Unfortunately, the Congress has hitherto not paid adequate attention to the question of reaching the masses with a correct approach. We do not accuse the Congress of any wilful neglect in the matter. On the contrary, it is the only political body which has tried to establish contacts with the broad masses in the country. Yet its method of approach has not been correct and therefore its efforts have not been as fruitful as they would have been otherwise. A new orientation of policy is much needed in the Congress at the present juncture and it must be preceded by a recognition of the fact that there are definite classes to whom an economic appeal has to be made before they can be mobilised for political action and that they have to be organised on a class basis before they can be effectually used for an anti-imperialist struggle.

It is sad to reflect that the Congress has persistently neglected industrial labour with the result that Labour has been estranged from the Congress. Unfortunately, there is to be seen to-day not only indifference but positive antipathy towards the Congress in organised labour unions. The result is that the Congress is not in a position to-day to call to its aid political strikes of workers. There have been powerful labour strikes in the country but they have been generally of an economic character. The economic struggle of the workers has not yet passed into the political struggle. This is why labour is so weak to-day as a political force and weighs so little in the political scale.

Howsoever one may criticise and denounce the Congress, it is the only broad platform of anti-imperialist struggle in India, and it is the only centre to-day from which such a struggle can be conducted. It is the broad arena of mass struggle where workers and peasants can receive political education and enlarge their influence and prestige.

Unfortunately some of the working class leaders do not seem to accept this point of view. Ever since 1928 they have followed a policy of isolation and it is this suicidal policy which has isolated them not only from the working masses but also from the national struggle; and yet the wonder of wonders is that they claim to be the vanguard of the Indian revolution. Whenever the Congress has conducted an anti-imperialist struggle these leaders have been found not only keeping themselves aloof but also preventing the workers from joining in the struggle. Was it not a communist leader who pulled down the national flag at Bombay and thus unconsciously acted as an "agent of imperialism?"

If communism is unity of theory and practice, have not the communists of India played a destructive role during the last six years? Even in the trade union field they have tried to break unity of workers by following the policy of dual unionism. I do not like to rake up an old matter because happily trade union unity has lately been restored with the communists though it is doubtful how long this unity is going to last. For I believe that the slogans of trade union unity and united front are given out in order to fight the growing menace of fascism and to secure the sympathy of workers of the world for Soviet Russia in the case of an outbreak of war. The Third International now-a-days formulates policies which seem to be simply an extension of the domestic policy of Russia. Russia is anxious to postpone war and so the

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have already expressed my opinion that it does require a slight though an important modification and I have also pointed the direction in which this change should be introduced. I am aware that the matter is receiving the attention of the Party and I hope that if the Party is convinced that a change in its policy is demanded by circumstances it will surely take the necessary steps in that connection.

It was but natural for the Congress to signify its intention to reject this sham constitution which is only a device to perpetuate British domination in India. It would have been much better if reasons for its rejection had been fully and well stated and the real character of the White Paper proposals had been brought out in Congress resolutions. The Congress also stated its considered opinion that the only satisfactory alternative was a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage. But the thing that really matters is to see how this policy of rejection is to be carried out. In our opinion the only possible, honourable and consistent course open to rejectionists after this declaration is to follow a policy of determined resistance and obstruction and to make it impossible for the new constitution to work. A policy of rejection necessarily implies refusal to accept ministerial and other offices in the gift of the Government. It is only in this way that we can expose the hollowness of the constitution and compel its suspension. We must realise that the new constitution impedes our progress towards our goal and the sooner the obstacle is removed from our path the speedier would be our progress.

If would not have been necessary for me to dilate on this subject if the Parliamentary Board had followed in the Assembly the old traditions of the Swaraj Party and if an insidious propaganda had not been started by certain responsible individuals in favour of working the reforms.

When the Swaraj Party was revived at Ranchi in 1934 the policy and programme, which it adopted, was significantly silent on the question of acceptance of office and the whole programme was conceived in a spirit of working the Reforms. It clearly demonstrated the great change that had come over the mentality of our parliamentarians after the liquidation of the Civil Disobedience movement. Perhaps the defeat the country had sustained in the struggle and the absence of an atmosphere of civil resistance in the country had emboldened them to give up the old tactics of obstruction. The general mentality of the Parliamentary Board and the inability of its representatives in the Assembly to remain faithful to their election pledges and their eagerness to obtain easy though empty victories over the Government by agreeing to give up their professions and principles in order to enable them to secure the co-operation of the other parties in the Assembly—all these combined do not encourage us to hope that there will be any determined effect to secure the rejection of the reforms.

On the other hand, a favourable atmosphere is being silently created for the working of the reforms and the mind of the nation is being steadily prepared step by step for the acceptance of such a policy. The silence that is being maintained on all sides is certainly strengthening the hands of those who advocated such a policy.

The question is one of great importance and its decision should not be left in the hands of the Parliamentary Board. The Congress should give a clear mandate without any equivocation.

A special pleading for a wrecking policy should not be needed in the case of a party pledged to complete independence. A party working for complete independence can at no stage enter into a compromise with imperialism. It has to carry on the struggle relentlessly until the goal is reached. It should in no case take upon itself the responsibility of working a constitution imposed by the British Parliament whose authority to frame a constitution for India has been challenged by the Congress.

Last but not the least, the acceptance of ministerial offices, whether for working the reforms or for wrecking them, will certainly sow an illusion in the minds of the people that the new constitution has some intrinsic worth and it will thus unconsciously change the psychology of the whole nation in favour of a constitutional struggle.

#### RESOLUTIONS—Second Day—23rd. June 1935

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Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda.

Her Highness Maimuna Sultana, the Begum of Bhopal.

The Consort of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin.

Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj.

The Rani of Vizianagram.

Her Highness the Dowager Rani of Mandi.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

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## OFFICE-BEARERS OF THE ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

### President

Mrs. Rustumji Faridoonji, Hyderabad (Deccan).

### Vice-Presidents

Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi, 6, Rundall's Road, Veppery, Madras.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, C/o. The Civil Surgeon, Jullunder City.

Mrs. Hamid Ali, The Residency, Satara.

Mrs. M. E. Cousins, Madanapalle, Madras Presidency.

Mrs. Brijlal Nehru, 2, Warris Road, Lahore.

Mrs. Homi Mehta, Karachi.

### Chairwoman

Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, Gwalior, C.I.

### Hon. Organising Secretary

Mrs. S. C. Mukherji, 9, Lower Rawdon Street, Calcutta.

### Education Section Secretary

Miss R. Ruben, 9, Mazagaon Terrace, Mazagaon, Bomhay, 10.

### Social Section Secretary

Mrs. S. N. Ray, 9-2, Middleton Row, Calcutta.

### Hon. Treasurer

Mrs. Hamid Ali, The Residency, Satara.

### Conveners of Sub-Committee.

*Finance* :—Mrs. Hamid Ali.

*Constitution* :—Miss G. J. Bahadurji, Thoburn House, Apollo Bunder, Bombay.

*Labour* :—Mrs. A. Chatterjee, 43, Wellesley Street, Calcutta.

*Rural Reconstruction* :—Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.

*Indigenous Industries* :—Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Khambhatta Hall, Altmont Rd. Bombay.

*Text-book* :—Miss S. I. Vincent, Lady Irwin College, 1, Sikandra Road, New Delhi.

*Untouchability* :—Mrs. Brijlal Nehru.

*Opium* :—Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade.

*All-India Sarda Act* :—Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon, 1, Badsha Bagh, Lucknow.

*Joint Convever* :—Miss A. Khemchand, Kundanmall Girls' School, Hyderabad (Sind).

*The Education Fund Association* :—Secretary, Mrs. R. R. Saran, Metcalf House Rd., Delhi.

# Patronesses Of The All-India Women's Conference

Her Excellency the Lady Irwin.  
Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda.  
Her Highness Maimuna Sultana, the Begum of Bhopal.  
The Consort of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin.  
Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj.  
The Rani of Vizianagram.  
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like specks of cream floating over an Indian sea-ocean of milk and water, even "dirt and filth." Far be it from us to use these latter terms in the Miss Mayo sense : we simply refer to the prevailing ignorance and superstition, callousness and lack of enterprise. The new progressive leaven has to work not only in spite of, but also, in and with, all this "raw" and "refractory" material. It has to transform and fashion it in accordance with its new ideology. In this it has got to be bold and wise.

There is no gainsaying that it has been bold in the conception of its plans. Though we can hardly say that the boldness in conception has yet been followed by anything like proportionately evolving vigour in execution. The Women Movement is not yet backed by adequately ample dynamism and has not yet gathered sufficiently effective or "driving" momentum. That is, in our judgment, because, whilst it has switched on the current from some front batteries, it has nearly switched off the current from some others in the background. By its enunciation of the Fundamental Rights, by its courageous yet non-communal attitude in relation to the White Paper Scheme, and last but not the least, by the nature and extent of its educational, legislative and social service work, it has shown that it has been drawing more and more liberally upon the ampler and fresher springs of "life" as we now understand it. But some other springs—possibly, springs of untold, unsuspected vitality—have been lying neglected in the back-ground, and are, perhaps, allowed to dry up unexplored and unused. If it not be impertinence on our part, we should venture to say one or two things to make our meaning clear.

In our General Introduction to this Volume, we have spoken of the Genius of India, its characteristic modes and methods of function. These are not mere shibboleths. For at least three thousand years, Indian civilisation and culture proved to be one of the most potent and productive factors influencing and shaping the trend of human history and evolution upon earth. And this influence was exerted not in terms of India's science, art, philosophy and mysticism alone. India was great, and often led, in the domain of politics and material progress also. This is now generally admitted, upon adequate evidence, even by competent outsiders who have no reason to be partial to India's past. It is true that for the last few centuries India has fallen from the Power and Glory she was. But this was because she lost touch—vital touch—with her real magazine of Power, with the real dynamism of her own Genius and Personality. That magazine is not yet depleted. It is still stocked with not only ample but profound vitality. This explains the wonderful sustaining and recouping power of India. The invasion by Alexander the Great of the Punjab was ephemeral in its political result. It is also a historical fact that Mohammedan invasion, so formidably sweeping elsewhere, found its way into India with the greatest tardiness and difficulty, and it took some centuries (commencing with the first impact on Sind) to establish its power in India in the shape of military garrisons which could hardly as yet be regarded as kingdoms and empires. The Moghul Empire came of course in due course. But on the weakening and disruption of that Empire it was still possible for the Marhatta and Sikh powers to assert themselves and hold sway over the greater part of India. The resistance and adaptive power of Indian civilisation and culture has

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The original stimulus which gave rise to Mrs. Cousins' letter was an appeal made by the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, at the Prize-Giving function of the Bethune College, Calcutta, in which he called on Indian women to *tell us with one voice what they want, and keep on telling us till they get it.*" Mrs. A. L. Huidekoper, an ex-Principal of Bethune College, (who, I am glad to say, is still one of our very active members), made use of this appeal as the basis of two articles which were published in *Stri Dhama*, the monthly magazine of the Women's Indian Association, and it was after this that Mrs. Cousins took up the matter in the way I have just described. Her appeal met with a wide and enthusiastic response, and Constituent Conferences were held in 22 places during the months of September to December 1926, and the First All-India Women's Conference was organised to take place at Poona, where it was duly held from January 5th to 8th, 1927, under the distinguished Presidentship of Her Highness the Maharani Chimnabai Saheb Gaekwad of Baroda,—Mrs. Cousins being the first Honorary Organising Secretary. The Resolutions passed at that Conference related almost without exception to education, ranging from matters concerning Primary Schools up to those relating to College and Adult Education. The sole exception was a Resolution condemning the practice of early marriage, as it interfered with education and supporting Sir Hari Singh Gour's Age-of-Consent Bill, which was then about to come before the Legislative Assembly.

## 2. The Second Conference—

In 1928, the Second Conference was held in Delhi under the Presidentship of her Highness the Begum Mother of Bhopal, the proceedings being opened by her Excellency the Lady Irwin. In addition to re-affirming most of the Resolutions of the First Conference, notable Resolutions were passed relating to Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda's Bill for the restraint of Early Marriage, which was at that time under consideration, as well as urging the Government to give representation to women in the Central Legislature, so that they might be able to express their views on pending measures affecting the interests of women and girls. The Second Conference was noteworthy also as the origin of the All-India Fund for Women's Education.

## 3. The Third Conference—

The Third Conference, that of 1929, was held at Patna, with Her Highness the Dowager Rani of Mandi as President. It was on the occasion that the scope of the Conference was definitely widened to include Social Reform, and separate Section for Social Reform was created to work on lines parallel to those of the Section concerned with Educational Reform. Three Sub-committees of the Educational Reform Section were appointed to carry on work throughout the year in the following directions :

(a) The drafting of a special curriculum for schools, based on the ideals underlying the Resolutions passed by the Conference.

(b) The revising and creating of new text-books.

(c) The investigation of the conditions of the training of teachers in all parts of India. Under the Social Reform Section also a Sub-committee was appointed to carry on the campaign to raise the age of marriage.

## 4. The Fourth Conference—

By 1930, when the Fourth Conference was held in Bombay under the Presidentship of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the increased efficiency of the organization had become very noticeable : and the Honorary Organizing Secretary (Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya) was able to report the accomplishment of a large amount of very effective work done by the Constituent bodies in many parts of India. Prominent among the list of reforms effected through the support of the Conference and its members was the passing of the Sarda Act, which, (while in the opinion of the Conference the age-

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mitted to all the Constituencies, with an invitation to them to give their considered opinion upon the views stated therein, and again in its final form, before it was actually submitted to the Franchise Committee, the Memorandum was circulated to the Constituencies, from which no dissentient was received. I need hardly remind you that the essential points which were decided to press in the Memorandum were as follows :

- (1) Equal rights and obligations of all citizens without any bar on account of sex.
- (2) No disability to attach to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, castes, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling.
- (3) Adult suffrage.
- (4) Women to fight elections on equal terms with men, in mixed general electorates.
- (5) No reservation of seats for women as such, nor special nomination or co-option.

A deputation of ladies belonging to the All-India Women's Conference also waited on His Excellency the Viceroy, in May, and presented a Memorial asking for women to be represented on the Round Table Conference.

The Social Reforms Section was kept busy again this year in agitating against the attempts to amend the Sarda Act. Rai Bahadur Harbilasji Sarda's Bill to secure a share for Hindu Widows in their husbands' family property was very widely supported in the Constituencies. The year was also noteworthy for the number of laws passed in Indian States, safeguarding women's rights, or enhancing their status.

The work of the Education Section went forward with unabated vigour on the usual lines, progress being made with the scheme for opening a Women's College for Home Science, Educational Research, and Training of Teachers. The Text-book Sub-committee made considerable progress with its arduous labour, as did also the Sub-committees on Labour, and indigenous Industries.

## 7. The Seventh Conference—

The Seventh Conference met at Lucknow in 1933 under the Presidentship of Lady Ramanbai Neelkanth. In the work of the preceding year, that of representing the viewpoint of Indian womanhood on the constitutional question had remained uppermost owing to the fact that the Indian Franchise Committee was occupied with its labours in India during the cold season of that year, and the Standing Committee of the Conference felt it obligatory that it should continue to press the views laid down in the Memorandum presented the year before to the Round Table Conference. Nine members of the All-India Women's Conference gave evidence at various centres, that of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (Chairwoman of the Standing Committee) being specially noteworthy for the firm stand which she made upon the principles laid down in the Memorandum in spite of the fire of searching cross-examination. From the point of view of immediate results, however, those efforts were, alas ! in vain, and the publication of the Communal Award was the signal for an outburst of protests from our Constituencies.

The work of the Social Section went forward apace ; in many Constituencies the earnest practical efforts towards the removal of untouchability and caste restrictions proved conclusively, to those who have eyes to see, that women are not—as they are usually supposed to be—the custodians of orthodoxy and conservatism. In many of the States Constituencies as well as those of British India there was a strong movement in favour of providing for divorce in Hindu society, and its equalisation for men and women among Muslims. The promotion of the cause of Swadeshi indigenous industries was also a very important feature of the year's work, as was also the number of instances in which members of the Conference were successful in contesting, on terms of equality with men, elections for seats on Municipal Corporations and academic bodies of Universities.

The opening of the Lady Irwin College for women, at Delhi, on November 10, 1932, was the event of the year in the Educational Section,—concrete evidence of the value of the work which had quietly and steadily been proceeding since the starting of the Education Fund four years ago. Important as was that event, however, one must not allow it to overshadow all the other less spectacular day-to-day work of members in the Constituencies. for without that real underlying zeal for the educational uplift of women, throughout the land, in villages as well as in towns, in quite devoted care and service, as well as in laying of foundation-stones and presiding over public meetings, our Conference would have never grown into the solid organisation that it now is.

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side. As regards adult education, our trials are coming into effect in Godavary and Kistna Districts, as much as we have got three Sevasadans where women are taught, music, vernaculars, English and some home industries such as rattan work, embroidery lace, tape-making.

Our work began with organising committees to collect funds for the famine-stricken area in the Ceded districts where many thousands of old people and children and pregnant women are dying for want of food. We have collected funds, besides we had benefit performances at Narsapur and Muslipatam. We appealed to Youth Leagues for help who with their characteristic buoyancy of youth promptly answered our call with large sums of collections. In all we were able to send Rs. 1,000 to the famine-stricken area.

2. Now our attention turned to the next important matter, namely, Sarda Act. I placed before the A. I. W. C. in the recent session that numberless child marriages are being performed in Frenchpet in Muslipatam, as the British has no jurisdiction over the Frenchpet. It is no exaggeration or egoism if I say that we had worked very hard to lessen the number of marriages performed and I am glad to say that we did succeed in our attempt and the sharp fines that were given by the magistrates to the parties, which themselves bear testimony to the success of our agitation.

3. The next thing that confronted us was the question of legal disabilities of women which is of vital importance. I succeeded in getting the attestations of several ladies on the forms sent to me by the Social Section Secretary. The same were handed over to Mrs. Cousins, Chairwoman of our Provincial Body, when she attended our Provincial Executive Body at Ellore to be sent to S. S. Secretary. Some more forms were sent to our Sub-Constituencies at my request and I am to say that they are working vigorously to have them filled in and will be sent to the S. S. Secretary in time for the ensuing Assembly Sessions.

4. I may also add that some of the members of our sub-constituencies are helping the widow-remarriage Association.

5. The last but not the least, is the question of Franchise over which I have drawn the attention of our Committee to concentrate. In this connection I have appealed for help on behalf of our constituency to all persons of different shades of opinion, and to youth leagues for finding out whether the names of all the women qualified to vote are entered into the Electoral Roll, and to enlighten voters on the fruit of Franchise. A similar letter was sent to the Press by our Chairwoman, Mrs. Cousins. Besides this, she has written letters to Messrs. Satyamurti B. Sambamurti (a famous Congress leader), and to Mrs. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi to depute special workers who had experience of finding out the the people with special property, tax and literary qualifications.

As we have to deal with many a social problem it is very difficult for every Constituency to work up all the items concerning Social and Educational matters. So I have distributed the following items among the experienced members of our Provincial Committee.

(a) Village Reconstruction ; (b) Indigenous Industries ; (c) Rescue Homes ; (d) Labour and Insurance.

6. Village Reconstruction was allotted to Mrs. P. Kanakamma of Nellore, D. Laxmibayamma of Naraspur, Dr. M. Sakuntala of Ellore, M. Kamalamma of Muslipatam and Mrs. Cousins. I cannot say that we had achieved any tangible result in as much as the work is an uphill task. Anyhow, I dare say that we are making progress, and hope that our attempts would fructify in course of time. As for the Harijan work which forms a part of Village Reconstruction, I am glad to inform that very good results are obtained in our local areas, many schools are started for Harijan children, and boarding for their girls, night schools in our local areas, thanks to the laborious work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh.

7. As regards the indigenous industries, we have centred all our activities in Guntur District, where we can, under the guidance of Mr. G. Sitaramasastry (Secretary for the Village Industries Association) work, in proper channel.

8. Bezwada, the centre of the Andhra Province, has been pitched upon for having Rescue Homes. Mrs. Rajarajeswaramma has taken the entire responsibility on her shoulders as there are already two Rescue Homes started by Dr. G. Ranganayakam and herself.

9. Much work has been done in the spread of Insurance among women and to a small extent among labourers.

(Sd.) M. Kamalamma,  
Standing Committee Member, ANDHRA.

side. As regards adult education, our trials are coming into effect in Godavary and Kistna Districts, as much as we have got three Sevasadans where women are taught, music, vernaculars, English and some home industries such as rattan work, embroidery lace, tape-making.

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2. Now our attention turned to the next important matter, namely, Sarda Act. I placed before the A. I. W. C. in the recent session that numberless child marriages are being performed in Frenchpet in Muslipatam, as the British has no jurisdiction over the Frenchpet. It is no exaggeration or egoism if I say that we had worked very hard to lessen the number of marriages performed and I am glad to say that we did succeed in our attempt and the sharp fines that were given by the magistrates to the parties, which themselves bear testimony to the success of our agitation.

3. The next thing that confronted us was the question of legal disabilities of women which is of vital importance. I succeeded in getting the attestations of several ladies on the forms sent to me by the Social Section Secretary. The same were handed over to Mrs. Cousins, Chairwoman of our Provincial Body, when she attended our Provincial Executive Body at Ellore to be sent to S. S. Secretary. Some more forms were sent to our Sub-Constituencies at my request and I am to say that they are working vigorously to have them filled in and will be sent to the S. S. Secretary in time for the ensuing Assembly Sessions.

4. I may also add that some of the members of our sub-constituencies are helping the widow-remarriage Association.

5. The last but not the least, is the question of Franchise over which I have drawn the attention of our Committee to concentrate. In this connection I have appealed for help on behalf of our constituency to all persons of different shades of opinion, and to youth leagues for finding out whether the names of all the women qualified to vote are entered into the Electoral Roll, and to enlighten voters on the fruit of Franchise. A similar letter was sent to the Press by our Chairwoman, Mrs. Cousins. Besides this, she has written letters to Messrs. Satyamurti B. Sambamurti (a famous Congress leader), and to Mrs. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi to depute special workers who had experience of finding out the the people with special property, tax and literary qualifications.

As we have to deal with many a social problem it is very difficult for every Constituency to work up all the items concerning Social and Educational matters. So I have distributed the following items among the experienced members of our Provincial Committee.

(a) Village Reconstruction ; (b) Indigenous Industries ; (c) Rescue Homes ; (d) Labour and Insurance.

6. Village Reconstruction was allotted to Mrs. P. Kanakamma of Nellore, D. Laxmibayamma of Naraspur, Dr. M. Sakuntala of Ellore, M. Kamalamma of Muslipatam and Mrs. Cousins. I cannot say that we had achieved any tangible result in as much as the work is an uphill task. Anyhow, I dare say that we are making progress, and hope that our attempts would fructify in course of time. As for the Harijan work which forms a part of Village Reconstruction, I am glad to inform that very good results are obtained in our local areas, many schools are started for Harijan children, and boarding for their girls, night schools in our local areas, thanks to the laborious work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh.

7. As regards the indigenous industries, we have centred all our activities in Guntur District, where we can, under the guidance of Mr. G. Sitaramasastry (Secretary for the Village Industries Association) work, in proper channel.

8. Bezwada, the centre of the Andhra Province, has been pitched upon for having Rescue Homes. Mrs. Rajarajeswaramma has taken the entire responsibility on her shoulders as there are already two Rescue Homes started by Dr. G. Ranganayakam and herself.

9. Much work has been done in the spread of Insurance among women and to a small extent among labourers.

(Sd.) M. Kamalamma,  
Standing Committee Member, ANDHRA.

Under Social Section of the Constituency, "Sagarika" and "Mirabai" performances were done to raise money in aid of the above Institutions and the net income was more than Rs. 1,000 from the performances. There is also a monthly subscription of about Rs. 25 out of which the expenditure is met.

Sd. Protima Nag,  
General Secretary.

3. 7. 35.

#### 4. Bengal West

The first Annual Meeting was held on the 8th. February, 1935. Mrs. Renuka Ray, the Social Secretary of the A. I. W. C. was kind enough to preside over the meeting. Some 700 women, mostly from the neighbouring villages, assembled there. Several women including a widow from a village, read papers. They dealt mainly on social problems of the women of our country. Mrs. Ray, the President, spoke about the Resolutions passed in the Karachi Conference and asked the women present there to take active part in the work undertaken by the Conference.

The Bengal West Constituency is carrying on social works in neighbouring villages from the very beginning by calling meetings at regular intervals and by Sub-Committees there. On the 18th. February, a meeting was held at Bandgorah, a neighbouring village where child welfare Exhibition was duly organised. After lectures had been delivered there by several ladies, a Sub-Committee with 7 Members, was formed there.

Feeling the necessity of starting sewing classes in the villages, the Constituency has appointed a teacher for this purpose from the 1st. March, on a salary of Rs. 10 a month. The teacher, a widow, trained at Sriniketan, the Rural Reconstruction Department of Viswabharati, goes regularly to three villages for the present. On the 6th. March a meeting was held at Bhubandanga, the nearest village from Santiniketan, to inaugurate the starting of a loom there. The members of our Constituency also go to the villages occasionally and talk with the women there about the improvement of sanitary conditions of villages.

Santiniketan,  
11. 6. 35.

Sd. Sudhamayee Mukerjee,  
Secy., West Bengal Consty., A. I. W. C.

#### 5. Bihar.

Four meetings were held during the half-year under report. One of these was a general meeting and three were Committee meetings. In the General meeting the things especially discussed were Rural uplift, Removal of Illiteracy, Untouchability, and Women's Legal Disabilities. The Committee meetings discussed among other things the ways and means for giving a practical shape to the resolutions of the Conference.

The Committee elected Lady Imam as its President in place of Mrs. Haidar Ali who is leaving Patna indefinitely. One of our members, Mrs. S. C. Chakrabarty acted earnestly as an Honorary Hospital Visitor for two years—1933-34 and 1934-35. Since April 1935, Mrs. A. T. Sen has been working as an Honorary Visitor of the Hospital.

Owing to the ill health of two of the Sectional Secretaries the progress of work during the half-year under report was considerably retarded. Regarding the removal of illiteracy our Educational Section has been running a few free Primary Schools in which both boys and girls are taught. The number of pupils in these schools is gradually increasing. Besides this, arrangement has been made to hold meetings of the common people in different busties and deliver popular lectures. These meetings were attended by both males and females and the lectures much appreciated. Our plan is to supplement these lectures with lantern shows. Regarding social work no new line of action has yet been chalked out. The two sections—Educational and Social—have to a certain extent worked jointly. To give a practical impetus to the removal of untouchability the teachers of our Primary Schools are encouraged to admit children belonging to the Harijan Class. In some of the popular educational lectures referred to above, the evils of early marriage and the Purda system were exposed.

Sd. Mrs. S. C. Chakravarti,  
Educational Secretary.

#### 6. Bombay

The progress made during the last six months was on the whole satisfactory. The Association met four times during the six months to consider the circulars from the Organising Secretary of the A. I. W. C. and to consider other matters relating to the

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The prize distribution of the above School came off on the 24th June at the school premises. Councillor S. C. Ghosh presided and Mrs. Indira Devi gave away the prizes, which consisted of Dhotis and Sarees. These were given by Mrs. T. N. Banerjee, Mrs. Sudhir Kumar Sen, and Mrs. T. P. Ghosh. Mrs. Ghosh also supplied mangoes and sweets for the pupils. The Banga Luxmi Cotton Mills kindly presented a box of washing soap for distribution. We are grateful to Mrs. N. N. Dutt for contributing Rs. 20 towards the prize fund, and to Mrs. N. Mukerjee for printing the invitation cards free of charge.

The Bal Mandir or the Harijan Baby Clinic has made good progress during the last six months. Seventy children attend daily, and each of them get a powa of milk twice a day. Dr. Miss Maitreyi Bose regularly attends the Clinic every Saturday morning, and Dr. Pal every Wednesday afternoon. We are very thankful to them for giving medical help free of charge. The monthly expenses of the Clinic come to about Rs. 175. Last year Mrs. Saudamini Mehta in charge of the Clinic, had to collect all the money through private donations, excepting Rs. 10 from the A. I. W. C. Fortunately this year the Bengal Harijan Sevak Sangh is very kindly giving a monthly grant of Rs. 100. We thank Mrs. Handoo for her monthly subscription of Rs. 5 and also for visiting the Clinic twice a week. We also thank Mrs. Madgaonkar, and Mrs. Nirmala Choksy for helping the Secretary in the work of supervision.

(b) No work has yet been done under this heading.

#### (c) WOMEN'S FRANCHISE

Some ladies representing four different Associations met Mr. R. N. Gilchrist at Mrs. Mukherjee's house on the 18th March. There was a suggestion that the Provincial Government and the Secretary of State for India should be approached with a view to lowering the high standard of literacy qualification for franchise. Accordingly a cable was sent to the Secretary of State for India in the month of June.

#### LECTURES

Under the joint auspices of the Calcutta Constituency of the A. I. W. C., and the Bengal Presidency Council of Women, a women's meeting was held on February 1st, 1935 at the All-India Institute of Hygiene, 21 Chittaranjan Avenue, when Mrs. How Martyn of the International Birth Control Association spoke on the subject of "Birth Control".

During Madam Halide Ediba Hanum's short stay here, a lecture was arranged at the Y. W. C. A. Hall, on the 27th February, 1935, jointly with the All-Bengal Muslim Ladies' Association, when she spoke on the "Women's movement in Turkey". This was very interesting and was largely attended.

Sd. M. Gupta,  
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#### 8. Delhi

After the return of the nine delegates who attended the Karachi Session of the A. I. W. C. the Delhi Women's League (Local Branch of the A. I. W. C.) commenced its activities with the entertainment of the two guests of the A. I. W. C., Dr. Royden and Mrs. C. Ashby who were on a visit to Delhi. Their entire programme was arranged by the Executive Committee and apart from showing them various places of educational and social interest a series of social functions were arranged in their honour and everything possible was done to make the guests comfortable.

2. The following persons gave public lectures under the auspices of the League during the past six months.

(a) Dr. M. Royden and Mrs. C. Ashby spoke on the "Message of the West to the East."

(b) Mrs. How Martyn on "Birth Control in India."

(c) Madam Halide Edib Hanum, the well known Turkish Novelist on "Women in Turkey".

(d) Mr. G. K. Hoedhar of the Poona Seva Sadan spoke on "Women in Social Service".

3. The Echo meeting of the Constituency was held on the 28th Feb. 1935 in the city and the audience was over 500 which is a good number for Delhi. Mrs. Naidu presided at the meeting and the aims and objects of the A. I. W. C. and the practical work achieved by the Conference and its constituencies was fully explained.

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Early in the year a Sub-Committee for the removal of Legal Disabilities of Women was appointed. To awaken the interest of the public this committee arranged for a series of lectures under the auspices of our Association. A leading Barrister of our city, Mr. R. S. Naik, very kindly delivered the lectures pointing out the inequalities and disadvantages placed upon women by the present laws of Property, Inheritance and Marriage prevailing in all communities.

The Hostel for women and Employment Bureau continue their work. Fourteen to eighteen dais, midwives and compounders have taken up their residence at the hostel paying Re. 1 to Rs. 3 for lodging, and boarders paying Rs. 30 a month have been accommodated besides visitors passing through Hyderabad. The Bureau also has been made use of by people requiring its services.

The Vigilance Committee which deals with Suppression of Traffic in Women and children has started its preliminary work of collecting information about existing laws on this subject in British India. The Committee is composed of several of our members and a few men who are sympathisers of the cause.

The work of the half-year has been mainly preparation. We are embarking on new ventures and hope when the hot weather has ceased to get on with the work that has been planned.

Sd. E. Cornelius,  
Standing Committee Member.

#### 10. Indore

We have amalgamated, according to the Rules and Regulations that were passed in the Karachi Conference last year, the previous two Branches, viz., Indore Women's Association and Indore Local Committee, into one Branch known at present as *All-India Women's Conference, Indore Branch*. The following are the Office-bearers :

1. President—Princess Savitribai Saheb Bansude.
2. Vice-President—Mrs. Jankibai Bhandarker.
3. Secretary and Treasurer—Mrs. Jyotsna Mehta,
4. Joint Secretary—Mrs. Bhanumatibai G. Turkhud.

The Managing Committee consists of 21 members.

We hold meetings almost every month.

2. We have made four divisions of our Branch, viz., Educational, Labour, Social, and Rural constructive Committees, out of which the first named Committee has been formed and Miss Ahilyabai Bhandarker, M.A., Lady Supdt., Girls' High School, has been appointed as a Convenor. A Labour Committee is shortly to be formed and Mrs. Annapurnabai Bhandarker is to be appointed as the Convenor. The third and the last one will be formed in the next few months. The practical work of all the Committees will be put before you in the Yearly Report.

3. We have written to the following Institutions for co-operation with our Branch and have received favourable replies from each of them. They are :—

- (1) Shree Ahilya Seva Sadan (under the Patronage of H. H. The Junior Maharani Indirabai Ma Saheb Holkar);
- (2) Shree Sharda Raja Boarding for Harijan Girls (under the patronage of H. H. the Maharani Sharmishthabai Ma Saheb Holkar);
- (3) Women's Branch of the Red Cross Society conducted by Mrs. Kama, a member of our Branch.
- (4) Mahila Shiksham Sangh (conducted by Mrs. Mahalas, a member of our Branch).
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—JUNE '35 ]

## HALF-YEARLY REPORTS FOR 1935

An address was given by Mr. G. K. Doodhar, the Hon. Organizer of Poona Seva Sadan on Rural Uplift, Home Industries, and a suitable system of education for girls. He has already opened a school in the station in which the curriculum of studies is to be of such a nature as to give to the girls the education and training required for preparing them to be capable mothers and housewives, and become intelligent, helpful citizens of their country. The Constituency has promised their full support to this school.

Our programme for adult education for women is :—(1) A sewing class conducted by some of the members of the Association ; (2) A class for teaching Hindi and English ; (3) Reading out stories, newspapers and useful articles from women's magazines to those who cannot read.

Voluntary services as teachers are given to a needy school in the station. A few stipends are given to the poor but deserving girls studying in the High schools.

The Constituency arranges for the Annual Medical inspection of the school children in this district, which is carefully done by the medical officers of the respective centres. It was a pleasure to note that just a few children were found needing any treatment. The parents or guardians of such cases were advised to have these children attended to without delay.

We were much pleased to meet Babu Rajendra Prasad at a public meeting of the citizens of this town. He was presented with a garland of hand-spun yarn and a piece of hand-woven cloth by one of the members of our Association.

We regret that we have received no report from our Sub-Constituencies. They have not at all been active this year. This state of affairs is due to the leaders of these sub-Constituencies having left the station. We do hope we shall be able to reorganize them as soon as the season permits.

The Alibag Women's Association consists of twenty-five members on the subscription list. Our present office-bearers are :—

President—Mrs. Parpia (Our new Collector's wife).

Vice-President—Dr. Miss A. Athavale.

Secretary—Mrs. Lele.

Treasurer—Mrs. R. Bhat.

Sd. S. B. Bhaskare,  
Standing Committee Member.

## 12. Kolhapur

The Annual Session of the Provincial Bhagini Mandal, Kolhapur, was held at Kolhapur on the 8th May 1935, presided by Lady Janakibai Sabnis. Following are some of the important resolutions passed :—

- (1) Requesting the Kolhapur Darbar to put a stop to the marriage system wherein the husband is far older than the wife.
- (2) The Darbar have already made women's education compulsory. The meeting requested the Darbar to bring it into actual practice, at their earliest convenience.
- (3) Women should take up the study of Hindi language.
- (4) Women should be appointed to work on a Jury.
- (5) Dowry system and the system of taking money for daughters given in marriage, should be strictly stopped and women should start a movement against these in the villages to begin with.

Besides this we have done some practical work in the form of opening a class for women and girls where English and Hindi is taught.

Sd. Shamabai Moruse,  
Standing Committee Member, A. I. W. C.

## 13. Madras

A Committee meeting was held in January 1935, to elect office bearers for the year 1935-36. The following were elected :

Standing Committee Member  
Educational Secretary  
Social Section Secretary  
Treasurer

... Mrs. Kamala Damodaran  
... Mrs. Ramath Unissa Begum  
... Srimathi G. Visalakshi Ammal.  
... Mrs. Balasundaram Naidu ;

and an Executive Committee consisting of 12 members were elected.

An address was given by Mr. G. K. Doodhar, the Hon. Organizer of Poona Seva Sadan on Rural Uplift, Home Industries, and a suitable system of education for girls. He has already opened a school in the station in which the curriculum of studies is to be of such a nature as to give to the girls the education and training required for preparing them to be capable mothers and housewives, and become intelligent, helpful citizens of their country. The Constituency has promised their full support to this school.

Our programme for adult education for women is :—(1) A sewing class conducted by some of the members of the Association ; (2) A class for teaching Hindi and English ; (3) Reading out stories, newspapers and useful articles from women's magazines to those who cannot read.

Voluntary services as teachers are given to a needy school in the station. A few stipends are given to the poor but deserving girls studying in the High schools.

The Constituency arranges for the Annual Medical inspection of the school children in this district, which is carefully done by the medical officers of the respective centres. It was a pleasure to note that just a few children were found needing any treatment. The parents or guardians of such cases were advised to have these children attended to without delay.

We were much pleased to meet Babu Rajendra Prasad at a public meeting of the citizens of this town. He was presented with a garland of hand-spun yarn and a piece of hand-woven cloth by one of the members of our Association.

We regret that we have received no report from our Sub-Constituencies. They have not at all been active this year. This state of affairs is due to the leaders of these sub-Constituencies having left the station. We do hope we shall be able to reorganize them as soon as the season permits.

The Alibag Women's Association consists of twenty-five members on the subscription list. Our present office-bearers are :—

President—Mrs. Parpia (Our new Collector's wife).

Vice-President—Dr. Miss A. Athavale.

Secretary—Mrs. Lele.

Treasurer—Mrs. R. Bhat.

Sd. S. B. Bhaskar,  
Standing Committee Member.

## 12. Kolhapur

The Annual Session of the Provincial Bhagini Mandal, Kolhapur, was held at Kolhapur on the 8th May 1935, presided by Lady Janakibai Sabnis. Following are some of the important resolutions passed :—

- (1) Requesting the Kolhapur Darbar to put a stop to the marriage system wherein the husband is far older than the wife.
- (2) The Darbar have already made women's education compulsory. The meeting requested the Darbar to bring it into actual practice, at their earliest convenience.
- (3) Women should take up the study of Hindi language.
- (4) Women should be appointed to work on a Jury.
- (5) Dowry system and the system of taking money for daughters given in marriage, should be strictly stopped and women should start a movement against these in the villages to begin with.

Besides this we have done some practical work in the form of opening a class for women and girls where English and Hindi is taught.

Sd. Shamabai Moruse,  
Standing Committee Member, A. I. W. C.

## 13. Madras

A Committee meeting was held in January 1935, to elect office bearers for the year 1935-36. The following were elected :

Standing Committee Member  
Educational Secretary  
Social Section Secretary  
Treasurer

... Mrs. Kamala Damodaran  
... Mrs. Ramath Unissa Begum  
... Srimathi G. Visalakshi Ammal.  
... Mrs. Balasundaram Naidu ;

and an Executive Committee consisting of 12 members were elected.

Mrs. Bakhale, the Hon. Secretary explained the disadvantages of children wearing costly ornaments. After the meeting, the ladies visited the child welfare health exhibition.

A meeting was held to celebrate the All India Women's day and was largely attended.

We have also helped the dais trained at Wai, by giving them Saris and Blouses.

Mrs. Bakhale gave an account of the All-India Women's Conference and her general impressions of the Conference, in the meeting which was held on the 29th January 1935.

A public meeting of representative women from Satara District was held at the Friendship centre on the 24th February 1935. More than a hundred ladies attended. They included Mrs. Dhavale from Karad, Miss Bhadhade, Mrs. Gokhale, Mrs. Apte from Sangli and others from other places in the District. Mrs. Hamid Ali presided. Mrs. Bakhale proposed the resolution protesting against Mrs. Desai's Bill of Adoption in the Bombay Legislative Council, and the resolution was carried unanimously. Mrs. Bakhale also proposed the resolution supporting Dr. Deshmukh's motion in the Legislative Assembly for appointment of a Commission to inquire into the legal disabilities of women in India, and this resolution was also carried unanimously. Then Mrs. Gokhale explained the educational resolutions of the Karachi Session, and Mrs. Bakhale gave her general impression of the Conference.

A public meeting was called at the time of the departure of Dr. Korchagina, one of the members of the Association.

An annual meeting of the Association was held on 11th March 1935, in the Friendship Hall. Mrs. Bakhale explained the Women's Village Improvement Class in the city to be held shortly and requested all to send members for the class. Mrs. Hamid Ali and Mrs. Bakhale were elected as the members of the Health Association Maternity Committee. Some sewing work of the hospital was also done.

A public meeting was convened on 1st July 1935, to honour Mrs. Hamid Ali on her return from Istanbul and England. After the speeches by some citizens welcoming Mrs. Hamid Ali on her return the latter gave a short account of the International Conference and general activities of the women of Turkey in public matters which interested the audience very much. Mrs. Hamid Ali was also honoured by the International Fellowship.

The members have also collected signatures against the Adoption Bill of Mr. Desai.

Mrs. Brijlal Nehru's suggestions to collect funds to supply the depressed classes was considered and it was decided that the consideration of this matter should be postponed as the question of funds for the Maternity Home and Women's Hospital at Satara was more urgent.

Resolution favouring equal rights of nationality of married women was also passed.

An educational Committee being already formed, no further action was necessary. The proceedings were closed after a vote of thanks to the Chair.

Sd. V. Bakhale,  
Secretary, Satara Women's Association.

### 15. Mysore.

After the return our delegates from the 9th. Session of the All-India Women's Conference at Karachi, Echo meetings were held in several parts of the State. The work of the Conference at Karachi and the aims and objects of the Women's Conference were explained. Our education centre at Edayur and Varuna are continuing to turn out beneficial and useful work. Some of the members visited the villages near by and are making a survey for starting fresh centres for educational work.

Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi visited our rural school at Edayur and was pleased with what she saw. The Creche which we are maintaining was also visited by Dr. Mathulakshmi Reddi who complimented the workers. Our members took the expectant mothers to Maternity hospitals. Several ladies made presents of clothes to the children of hospitals, and to the babies of the creche. Visits to hospitals and jails were undertaken by our members to cheer the inmates.

A good deal of propaganda work is done by the women. We are glad to say that educational and social activities are continued by our sub-constituencies. In addition to having periodical musical performances, reading of passages from the epics and partaking in physical exercises and games are also undertaken.

Sd. S. Nanjamma,  
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### 17. Punjab Central.

The Echo Conference was held on the 18th February in the Morse Hall Y. M. C. A. The Annual report was read out and the 15 members for the new Committee were elected. The attendance was poor as there happened to be a reception in honour of Poet Tagore the same day.

A public meeting for women was held on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the third Purdah Garden. Some speeches were delivered on cleanliness and a little dialogue was acted.

The two adult women schools are watching good progress. Owing to lack of funds the Committee members contributed Rs. 6 each towards the expenses of the schools. The schools are closed for summer months and will be re-opened on the 1st October.

The Conveners for the Social and Educational Sub-committees have been able to hold one meeting each. The Social Convener and some members of the Education Sub-committee have left for the hills.

As soon as the news of the Quetta Earthquake tragedy reached, an emergent meeting was called to discuss the relief measures. Prominent workers outside the Conference were specially invited and sub-committees were formed. The Secretary Y. M. C. A. who was the Convener for the bandages committee got 34,000 bandages ready under her management which were supplied to the Mayo Hospital. Nearly 200 ladies and school girls helped in making the bandages. The material was provided by the Conference. The funds committee has been able to collect Re. 2,858 for the relief work. Subscriptions are still coming.

All relief trains and ordinary trains bringing sufferers were met by workers from 3rd to 15th June. Relief was given to all sufferers irrespective of caste and creed. Over 5000 garments were distributed amongst the refugees from Quetta at Lahore Railway Station. First aid was rendered under supervision of Lady Doctors.

Daily provisions were supplied by the Committee to the patients at the Mayo Hospital, such as milk, ice, fruit, sugar loaves of bread, tea, jam, biscuits, soap, towels, cigarettes, etc. Three cooks and a barbar have been employed by the Committee. The Committee ladies visited the patients daily and helped them.

The immediate relief work is finished and the committee will now consider the ways and means to utilise the funds for further help of those who have suffered.

Sd. Mrs. K. Kaul,  
Acting Standing Committee Member

### 18. Punjab East

#### Report of the Jullunder Sub-Constituency

Interest continues to increase. The Health Centre flourishes and now two village sub-centres. So also does the Anti T. B. Dispensary which has obtained a grant of Rs. 1,500 per annum again for 1935-36 from the Headquarters Association. The Women's park is now ready and it is hoped that the members will be able to meet more regularly to discuss our programme of work. I have, as you know, been concentrating on Rural Uplift work and this is progressing fairly well. We have contributed Rs. 100 towards the Rescue Home in Lahore pending the passing of the Bill for the Suppression of Immoral Traffic.

We will try and collect money for the Harijan "Pani Fund". But it will be difficult just now when we have exhausted our purses for Quetta.

Sd. Amrit Kaur,  
Chairwoman, Jullunder Sub-Constituency.

#### Report of the Simla Sub-Constituency

I wish to mention one of our activities which has practically been in existence since 1930—namely Simla Teachers' Association or Guild.

The following is a brief outline as to our Association's aims and ideals :—

We the Teachers of all the Indian Girls' Schools of Simla met once a month at a "Social Tea". Our object in meeting is first to get into friendly relations with one another—so that we may feel that we are working as "Sisters" for the common good of the future wives and mothers or otherwise workers of the next generation. We arrange for instructive lectures—sometimes purely Educational, sometimes concerning women's problems of the present day. We discuss after the meetings and try to help each other as much as possible.

There are 2 High Schools in Simla, 4 Middle Schools and 8 Primary Schools and we have a minimum of 50 teachers meeting each month. We have been trying this year

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## 20. Travancore

During the period under review the Constituency held two public meetings and six committee meetings. Soon after the return of the Delegates from Karachi, the Echo meeting was held on the 31st of January 1935. Miss F. E. Grose presided and Mrs. Chari, Sry. T. J. Ponnamma and Sry. Rukmini Amma spoke on the various aspects of the Conference. The meeting was well-attended. It was announced at this meeting that the Karachi Conference had accepted the invitation of Travancore for the A. I. W. C. to hold its next session in Trivandrum. Since our invitation was accepted by the A. I. W. C. it was resolved to convene another public meeting of the ladies of Trivandrum to concert measures for the conduct of the Conference and an interim committee consisting of seven members was appointed to draw up proposals for the same, to be placed before another public meeting.

Following the Echo meeting, a business meeting of the Constituency was held for electing the Office-bearers for the year. The next public meeting came off on the 13th of February 1935, when the proposals of the interim committee were considered and accepted and a special committee was formed according to their suggestion for all the preliminary work in connection with the Annual Conference consisting of 31 ladies.

This Special Committee held its first meeting on the 21st February and formed various sub-committees for convenience of work and they are in full swing making arrangements for the next annual conference.

Coming to the activities of the Local Committee it is our great pleasure to record here that we were able to organise four Sub-Constituencies in different parts of Travancore viz., Nagercoil, Quilon, Alleppey and Kottayam, where Karachi Delegates and Local Committee members addressed and the women giving clear ideas about the aims, work and achievements of the A. I. W. C. We have held, besides our monthly meetings, some extra meetings as well.

The formation of the Educational Sub-Committee is under consideration and it is hoped that the committee will be formed early enough.

In our own limited sphere, besides continuing the work of the previous years, we are doing some social work in the Clean-up campaign among the poor classes and Malaria relief to the afflicted in South Travancore where hundreds are dying and thousands are suffering from want of food and clothing.

Of course this is not much and we cannot rest satisfied with the little that we have done. But we are still working on with a "heart within and God overhead" and hope to win the goal that the A. I. W. C. keeps in view, in the near future.

Sd. P. R. Parkutty Amma,

## 21. U. P. Agra

After the return of members from Karachi it was decided to postpone the echo-meeting till March, since a number of our members and the President were at that time out of station. Our Constituency was, however, busy with its work of propaganda and organisation and during this period it held its meetings in different parts of the City to get the women of as many localities and shades of opinion interested in the work of the Conference, as possible.

Early in January our members were busy making arrangements for Mrs. How Martyn's visit. In this connection they got in touch with the Y. W. C. A. and the local Red Cross Society. All efforts were made to advertise the talk on birth-control and to make it a success.

In February Dr. Tagore paid a visit to Allahabad. At the invitation of our Conference the other women's associations joined us in presenting an address to the illustrious poet.

Our Echo-meeting was held in March. A review of the work done at the Karachi session of the A. I. W. C. was made. Resolutions pertaining to the legal disabilities of women, the Sarda Act and adult education were adopted.

In order to give practical shape to the resolutions passed by the A. I. W. C., our constituency has formed the following sub-committees:—

(1) Education (2) Social and labour (3) Indigenous Industries, and (4) Constitution.

These committees are doing their respective work. It is hoped that by the end of the year they will be able to show substantial results. The two private schools that had been started two years before are doing satisfactory work. We regret to say that for want of funds we are not yet in a position to take over these schools entirely, though the matter was brought up several times and attempts were also made to collect funds. But these are yet inadequate for our purpose and we must wait till more money is raised.

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The Constituent Conference Committee has recently organised a Sub-Committee to enlist lady voters under the newly extended Franchise to ladies.

Sd. Sushila Kothiwan,

#### 24 Gujarat

The Social Secretary, Mrs. Assana, held several meetings and discussed the ways and means of doing work in Ahmedabad and several members visited some of the Institutions which are doing social and industrial work in the city and we are now chalking our programme of work. Two of the energetic members of the section (Education and Industry) have opened two classes—one (Ben Vinodini Neelkanth), a class for teaching illiterate people and another, (Mrs. Gulbai Vakharia), a class for teaching sewing.

A public meeting of ladies was held under the auspices of the Mahila Mandal, where most of the members of our Conference helped to get signatures of the ladies to protest against the Adoption Bill brought by Mr. Desai in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Sd. R. R. Vakharia,

#### 25. C. P. North

I have not been able to keep very closely in touch with what is going on in the whole area. Ladies are taking more part in social duties and feeling more responsibilities.

Some of the plans and suggestions made by the Social Secretary, are being attempted. More ladies are in the Child Welfare Committees. Recently the All-Indian Secretary for Child Welfare visited Bilaspur and made the remark that the work there was one of the best she had seen anywhere.

Active Temperance work is going on in some places. In some places ladies are Jail visitors as well as non-official visitors to Jails. Work for the Harijans is being started by the ladies along with the men's work in that direction. We are helping to pay the salary of Miss Shepard. We have not accomplished as much as we would like but we are increasing and improving.

In the Education section also our efforts have begun to bear fruit. A Maktab run by the local Anjuman Islamia existed in the town where only Quran was taught to the children, in the beginning, and later Urdu was introduced. The entire teaching however was unsystematic. Influence was exerted over this institution and the management agreed to form a Committee of ladies with our Hon. Secretary as its President who have been guiding and helping the school. The curriculum has been brought on line with that in Government schools and the teaching has improved. In November 1934, Atiya Begum of Bombay, a great educationist, the President of North C. P. Women's Conference, visited the school and she was generally satisfied with the instruction and management. Later the School obtained Govt. recognition and an application for Govt. aid has been supported by officers of Govt. but final orders are still awaited. The school is now a properly constituted Primary School in Urdu, and our Education Section is keeping watch over it. A trained lady teacher from Lahore has been appointed as Head Mistress.

Influence is being exercised also over the Govt. Girls' School through our Hon. Secretary who has been appointed by Govt. as the President of the School Committee. Meetings are frequently held where mothers of girl's are called and advised, and this has been producing a very good effect on attendance.

A Kindergarten School on regular lines has been started by our Hon. Secretary at her own Bungalow for the infants. But as yet the public has not taken advantage of it and the attendance is only two. The District needs badly at least one properly constituted Middle School. At present this need is served by the B. M. G. High School.

Sd. Miss Ennis.

### REJECTION OF THE J. P. C. REPORT

A joint statement was issued by the three women's organisations, the All-India Women's Conference, All-India Women's National Council and Women's Indian Association after a meeting held at New Delhi, on the 8th. January 1935 at which a series of resolutions were passed, putting forth the women's point of view vis-a-vis the J. P. C. recommendations. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided and representatives from Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and various provinces attended.

The statement is as follows : We feel that the Joint Parliamentary Committee was animated by a genuine desire to bring women in greater numbers on the electoral rolls and give them a definite place in the legislatures under the constitution. For this

The Constituent Conference Committee has recently organised a Sub-Committee to enlist lady voters under the newly extended Franchise to ladies.

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Active Temperance work is going on in some places. In some places ladies are Jail visitors as well as non-official visitors to Jails. Work for the Harijans is being started by the ladies along with the men's work in that direction. We are helping to pay the salary of Miss Shepard. We have not accomplished as much as we would like but we are increasing and improving.

In the Education section also our efforts have begun to bear fruit. A Maktab run by the local Anjuman Islamia existed in the town where only Quran was taught to the children, in the beginning, and later Urdu was introduced. The entire teaching however was unsystematic. Influence was exerted over this institution and the management agreed to form a Committee of ladies with our Hon. Secretary as its President who have been guiding and helping the school. The curriculum has been brought on line with that in Government schools and the teaching has improved. In November 1934, Atiya Begum of Bombay, a great educationist, the President of North C. P. Women's Conference, visited the school and she was generally satisfied with the instruction and management. Later the School obtained Govt. recognition and an application for Govt. aid has been supported by officers of Govt. but final orders are still awaited. The school is now a properly constituted Primary School in Urdu, and our Education Section is keeping watch over it. A trained lady teacher from Lahore has been appointed as Head Mistress.

Influence is being exercised also over the Govt. Girls' School through our Hon. Secretary who has been appointed by Govt. as the President of the School Committee. Meetings are frequently held where mothers of girl's are called and advised, and this has been producing a very good effect on attendance.

A Kindergarten School on regular lines has been started by our Hon. Secretary at her own Bungalow for the infants. But as yet the public has not taken advantage of it and the attendance is only two. The District needs badly at least one properly constituted Middle School. At present this need is served by the B. M. G. High School.

Sd. Miss Ennis.

### REJECTION OF THE J. P. C. REPORT

A joint statement was issued by the three women's organisations, the All-India Women's Conference, All-India Women's National Council and Women's Indian Association after a meeting held at New Delhi, on the 8th January 1935 at which a series of resolutions were passed, putting forth the women's point of view vis-a-vis the J. P. C. recommendations. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided and representatives from Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and various provinces attended.

The statement is as follows : We feel that the Joint Parliamentary Committee was animated by a genuine desire to bring women in greater numbers on the electoral rolls and give them a definite place in the legislatures under the constitution. For this

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# The A. I. Trade Union Congress

Opening Day—Calcutta—20th. April 1935

## The Welcome Address

The fourteenth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress commenced its sitting on the **20th. April 1935** at Sarmik Nagore (Halliday Park), Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. *Harihar Nath Sashtri* President-elect of the Congress with an impressive flag-hoisting ceremony. Mr. *K. C. Mitra*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of his welcome address said :—

Although factories and mills were started in Bengal during the closing decades of the last century and seamen from Calcutta serving in ships chanced to come in contact with the active labour movement and organisations in European countries and become imbued with their ideas and started clubs and Anjumans here in the first decade of this century, no real and regular organisations of workers were formed till the year 1918—when due to the unprecedented economic depression caused as an after-effect of the world war and the consequent wage-cut, retrenchment and other kinds of repression resorted to by the employer, the first batch of the Workers' Union in Bengal was started. Thus in 1918 the Port Trust Employees' Association and the Indian Seamen's Union were formed, and these were soon followed by the Employees' Association, the Press Employees' Association and the Calcutta Tramway Employees Association formed in the following year. The movement developed and grew apace and a number of unions in jute, textile and railways were soon started. Quite a good number of young men from the intelligentsia identified themselves with the working class interest and built up the movement in Bengal. After the N. C. O. movement had passed through its first phase and was in a temporary lull, a further band of untiring youngmen transferred their field of activity in the iabour movement and many of them after years of sacrifice and suffering are still guiding the movement in and outside Bengal.

The year 1928 saw great upheaval in the Labour world in India and a strike fever pervaded the entire land. There were large-scale and momentous trials of strength between the growingly conscious working class and the alarmed capitalists and railways, textile, jute, oil, petrol, steel works and its subsidiaries, viz.tinplate etc., collieries and almost all important branches of industries experienced the shock. Happily most strikes at this period were entirely or practically successful and the jute magnates in their cosy seats in Clive Street felt uncomfortable. But soon discord among the leaders on so-called principles brought about danger for the workers ; and at the 9th. session of the Congress at Jharia in 1928 the first symptoms of a sharp difference were visible. The situation become worse when many of the best leaders were arrested and some sent to Meerut to stand their trial there.

Even then the movement in Bengal was growing in intensity and the working class held their own against all odds. In the following year the Ninth Congress at Nagpur saw the split within the Congress and the right wing seceded from the parent body ; while in Bengal the movement suffered much owing to a further difference among the leftwing leaders themselves. This sectarian move culminated in yet another split and the ultra-leftists seceded from the Congress at its eleventh session in Calcutta in July 1931. Due to this internecine quarrels among the leaders—which in fact did very much concern the rank—both organizational and educative activity of unions were considerably checked. Even then the Bengal Provincial body of the A. I. T. U. C. held very successful conferences in jute and oil and petrol, and reorganised the unions in other industries, viz., Textile, Railways, Steel and Collieries.

During the period, however, again imperialistic repression recommenced in full swing and many of our active workers were arrested and imprisoned on various pretexts in 1932. Then followed a period of low activity and almost a lull when most of the unions existed in a moribund condition and it was not until April, 1934 that a new life in the movement was infused. From then till now, i. e, in the course of the last twelve months, the A. I. T. U. C. put up a splendid fight in Bombay, Sholapur, Ahmedabad, Delhi and Cawnpur, and Bengal also took up her share both in the fight and the organizational activity. During this period there were strikes of the Port and Dock workers in Calcutta, R. S. N. and I. G. N. workers, Bird Company's workers, textile

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from the clutches of predatory Capitalism. I invite you, Comrades, therefore to deliberate on these vital problems and find out the most effective ways and means to accomplish the task which is beset with difficulties and obstacles all over. May ours be a glorious fight and may victory shine like the rising Sun in the East.

#### Presidential Address.

In the course of his presidential address at the Conference, Mr. *Hariharnath Sastri* said :—

Imperialism is consolidating all the reactionary forces in the country under its banner with a view to retaining its foothold in this country by keeping under subjugation the exploited masses. The Joint Parliamentary Committee report is a glaring instance of this policy. The reforms promised in the report grant no freedom to the masses. In fact it is simply intended to bribe the native princes, landlords, and the native bourgeoisie and to win them over to the side of imperialism. Restricted franchise based on property qualifications, introduction of second chamber in provinces, the system of indirect elections to Federal Legislatures, protection of commercial rights and the joining of native princes in Federation, all these are clear indications of the imperialist policy of preserving old allies and creating new ones. The native princes and landlords have always been devoted adherents of British rule in India. But the Indian capitalists were inclined towards the national movement till some time back. The Indian National Congress received considerable support from them from time to time. This made imperialism change its policy towards the native capitalists. Instead of looking exclusively to and guarding the interests of the British bourgeoisie, it deemed it more expedient and probable in the long run, to make the native bourgeoisie partners in the exploitation of the masses. Hence the post-War trade pacts, abolition of excise duty, grant of protection, bounties and other concessions. All this has been done to bring the dissatisfied bourgeoisie of this country closer to the side of imperialism. And to satisfy the political aspirations of this class, imperialism has promised them the reforms as indicated in the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report.

How shall the working class stand against this formidable combination? How to face the onslaughts of the capitalists, backed and supported by imperialism with its growing allies the native princes and landlords? That is the most important question that we have to consider to-day. I feel that if the working class desires to effectively fight against the forces that are every day gathering strength, it must first of all set its own house in order by removing conflicts and dissensions and by bringing about solidarity in the trade union movement. And secondly, it must form combinations and find out allies that have one common mission of throwing imperialist yoke from this country and bringing about National Independence—an Independence that would usher in an era of prosperity for the masses.

Trade Union unity is the slogan that we all have been talking about since that unity was broken in the year 1929 at the time of the Nagpur session of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Time and again unity conferences and committees have in past taken place but the gulf has not yet been abridged. But now a stage has come, when every group that is sincerely devoted to the cause of workers, realises the supreme importance of solidarity in the Trade Union Movement. Every one feels that the struggle cannot proceed even a step forward unless and until mutual differences are removed and unity achieved in the movement. The recent changes in international situation have also been considerably helpful in bringing different groups closer. Consolidation of different parties in the working class movement is taking place all over Europe on account of fascist menace. Mutual differences in past between communists and socialists in Europe helped the forces that were hostile to the interests of workers. Thus the dissensions between these two parties were instrumental in establishing fascist regime in Germany, where the working class movement is being ruthlessly crushed to-day. Now socialists and communists all over Europe have begun to realise that to stand successfully against fascist danger they must all combine. Hence the pacts between these two parties in France and Italy. Similar efforts have been on foot in other countries too. This has its repercussions in our country also, inasmuch as those who were till quite recently opposed to the very idea of unity with those who were not in agreement with them politically, have now realised the necessity of such unity and are enthusiastic about it as we always have been.

The evidence of 'growing desire for Trade Union unity, has encouraged the All-India Trade Union Congress once again to take the initiative in the matter. In January 1935 it set up a sub-committee that was directed to approach all the trade

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tent that found its manifestations from time to time in course of the nationalist movement. In them the Indian working class can find an ally that can join hands with it in the fight for national independence. Organisation of this class must be immediately taken up in hand with conscious endeavours to bring them closer to the working class ideology and programme.

There is also another section in the country that has entirely been ignored in past and with which a contact must now be established. I refer to the workers in the Native States, whose plight is even worse off than that of the British Indian Workers. Even the most ordinary legal rights enjoyed by the British Indian Workers are denied to them. They are suffering under the additional subjugation of the native princes, who are not prepared to allow them any freedom of organisation and agitation for the betterment of their lot. Trade union activities are generally banned in most of the Indian States. The Indian working class should fight for the right of organisation of their fellow workers in native States. An effort is being made to keep the labour legislation out of the scope of Federation. This move should be vehemently opposed and the demand should be put forward that the laws in native States must be brought in line with those of British India. The workers of the native States must be made to realise that their struggle and the struggle of the British India workers is common.

Another function that the working class has to perform in order to stabilize its position is the organisation of the unemployed that has been constantly multiplying since 1928 has now assumed terrible proportions. The India Government is utterly indifferent to the problems of unemployment in this country. Recently the international convention on unemployment was rejected by it. In other civilised countries some thing, though not much, is done to provide some means of subsistence to the unemployed. But in India, when the matter is brought to the notice of the Government, the latter even refuses to believe that there is any unemployment in the country. Now it is the task of the working class to fight for the rights of the unemployed. I am glad to note that for some the All-India Trade Union Congress has moved in the matter in right earnest. On its initiative, unemployment day was celebrated on a very large scale throughout the country, when the problems of the unemployed came to the fore-front for the first time. This work must now be done on permanent footing by formation of unemployed leagues throughout the country.

No less important a group with which the working class should form an alliance is the everyday growing radical wing in the Congress Socialist Party. This party is the outcome of deep discontent that is evident in the rank and file of the Congress, who have lost all faith in the present Congress leadership and programme. The leaders of the Indian National Congress have from the housetop been crying that they stand for the economic emancipation of the masses and for complete national independence. But in actual practice, they have always been striving to enter into a compromise with imperialism. Gandhi-Irwin truce within about a year after declaration of independence by the Congress, Mahatma Gandhi's joining the Round Table Conference as the representative of the Congress, and subsequent efforts for an "honourable settlement" with the Government, all these have made it clear that the Congress leadership has never been serious in its professions of national independence. Such a policy on the part of Congress leaders alienated the feelings of rank and the file of Congress workers, who in the name of freedom fought under the banner of the Congress and made tremendous sacrifices. They have begun to realize that if the national struggle has to be fought effectively and in the interest of the masses without, at any stage, talking of compromise with imperialism, the present leadership in the Congress overhauled and a correct programme, clearly embodying their economic demands, must be placed before the masses. Masses have fought under the banner of the Congress and it is they who have undergone greatest suffering in the cause of freedom and as such they have every right to see that the Congress stands in their interests.

The present leadership in the Congress is reactionary. It has to be overthrown and the movement need be radicalised. It will be the most suicidal policy to denounce the Congress and allow it to drift to wrong channels. The Congress has to be made the central organisation through which practical alliance of the exploited sections of the country can only be possible. Denunciation of the Congress will be repetition of the blunder that some over-enthusiasts swayed by ultraleftism committed in 1930 by trying to throw down the Congress flag and vilifying the Congress at a time in anti-imperialist fight. That policy only intended to isolate from the mass movement those who committed it. Instead of wrecking the Congress, its ideology and outlook have to be revolutionised. It is gratifying to note that the process of radicalization has already begun. The Indian working

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political power by the oppressed masses is the essential condition for real national freedom.

The Congress further declares that any constitution, worked out by the spokesmen of the British Raj and their allies in India, will not be acceptable to the Indian people. This Congress maintains that none but the Indian people have the right to frame the future constitution of free India and the fundamental laws of free National State can only be formulated through the National Constituent Assembly, the only democratic organ of power of the Indian oppressed masses.

This Congress reiterates the following basic principle of the constitution of Free India as formulated by the Cawnpore Session of the All India Trade Union Congress :

- (1) Transfer of all power to the oppressed and exploited masses.
- (2) Abolition of Native States and parasitic landlordism.
- (3) Freedom of peasantry from all exploitation and exaction so that the greater part of their surplus production remains in their hand.
- (4) Nationalisation of land, public utilities, mineral resources, banks, and all other key industries in the country.
- (5) Unconditional repudiation of all debts contracted by foreign government.
- (6) Improvement of the condition of the industrial workers through the introduction of minimum wages, limited hours of work, insurance against unemployment, old age, sickness, maternity and social legislation for the general protection of labour.
- (7) Control of the economic life of the country by the oppressed masses to guarantee that fruits of national freedom will not be usurped by the fortunate few.
- (8) Abolition of indirect taxation and introduction of free compulsory primary education.
- (9) Freedom of Press, speech, association, expression and assembly.
- (10) Abolition of all other charges on the peasantry except unitary tax. And many other demands.

The Congress also passed the following resolutions.

This Congress draws the attention of the E. I. Railway authorities to the fact that the sum of Rs. 1,00,000 granted from the Viceroy's Earthquake Relief Fund for the relief of E. I. Railway workers affected by the Bihar earthquake, still remains undisposed of and hopes that ways and means will be devised in consultation with the E. I. Railwaymen's Union to appropriate this sum without any further delay for the aforesaid purpose.

Consistent with the principles of national freedom enunciated by the T. U. C. from time to time, this Congress pointed out to the working masses and the exploited and oppressed classes to disassociate themselves from the Silver Jubilee celebrations.

This Congress appreciates the services rendered by Dr. Charu Chandra Banerjee, Vice-President of the A. I. T. U. C. and President of the B. P. T. U. C., and strongly criticises the action of the local Government in interning him without any trial and further demands his immediate release.

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The actual situation of the world outside may be better appraised by a reference to the price levels, industrial production, and trade returns of the various countries. As I have already indicated, the year 1934 witnessed some improvement in the internal conditions of mostly those countries which depreciated their currencies. But this improvement is not indicative of a defined tendency towards recovery of a nature as might be expected to permeate the whole range of trade and commerce. Taking the world as a whole, it is found that the gold value of international trade is now only one third of what it was in 1929, but its quantum was 70 per cent in the middle of 1933 but has since then improved to some extent. The volume of world's industrial production, again, declined by about 30 per cent on the basis of 1929 but has by now advanced to the extent of 15 percent. Though all these figures do not constitute a reliable index to the real situation, they indicate, on the one hand, the increasing burdens on international commerce, and, on the other, give point to the fact that world conditions evince slight tendency towards improvement. But this tendency must needs be maintained if real recovery is to be sought by the creation of conditions favourable to unfettered flow of international trade. For, it is being apprehended in certain countries whether the measure of improvement in internal economy achieved has not already reached its maximum limits. It has been rightly emphasised that purely on an internal basis, no advance can be permanent or really stable, unless it is accompanied by an improvement in international trade. In a recent issue of the "Economist", it was rightly observed that "The meaning of this would appear to be that while it is possible to go a certain distance by stimulating internal activity whether by public expenditure, by direct government interference, by subsidy or otherwise—there are limits to such a movement; sooner or later difficulties of international trading act as a brake."

Coming to the individual countries it is found that countries with depreciated currencies have fared better in respect of commodity prices and industrial production. Prices in these countries, though following a downward trend till the end of 1932 had rallied in 1933 and have remained steady till the last quarter of 1934. In England and Denmark the commodity prices have in certain seasons of the last year advanced even beyond the level of 1931. In the U. S. A. also, commodity prices rose from 71 in December 1933 to 77 in December 1934, marking an advance of 6 per cent. In the countries on the gold standard, again, price levels have been continuously falling and even in 1934 no material improvement ensued. Industrial production also has followed the same lines in the gold countries as contrasted with the countries on the depreciated currencies except in Italy where since the second quarter of 1934 industrial production has advanced apace and by the end of 3rd quarter has even outstripped the level of 1931 by 9 points. England has nearly attained the level of 1929, and Sweden and Denmark have far exceeded it. Canada's industrial production, though registering a decided advance over the level of 1931, falls short of 1929 level by more than 32 points.

In international trade again, the position of these two sets of countries appears to be reversed. In percentage shares of the total world exports, the gold countries like France, Italy and Netherlands have more than exceeded the level of 1929 while the United Kingdom and Canada have lost ground on the same basis. In the case of the U. S. A., however, the decline in its share in world export trade has been quite precipitous—the decline being from 15.61 per cent in 1929 to 10.95 per cent. in 1933. It is significant that in spite of the increased competitive power acquired by the countries on account of depreciation of currencies, their export trade has not been so well maintained as that of the countries on the gold standard. The advantage of currency depreciation has been, as Sir Strakoch points out, "made nugatory by the high tariffs and the many other restrictions to international trade which have been interposed, the world over." Japan, however, is the only country which has succeeded by a persistent policy of currency devaluation in developing a greater share of world's export trade in 1933 as compared with 1929. During this period her share has advanced from 2.93 per cent to 3.13 per cent.

These facts do not, however, go to prove that the countries which depreciated their currencies at some time or other have reaped no benefit therefrom. The actual situation reveals, on the contrary, that these countries have been experiencing since 1931, a greater measure of revival in trade and commerce than those adhering to the gold standard. This has been possible largely on account of the expansion of internal production and trade.

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In international trade again, the position of these two sets of countries appears to be reversed. In percentage shares of the total world exports, the gold countries like France, Italy and Netherlands have more than exceeded the level of 1929 while the United Kingdom and Canada have lost ground on the same basis. In the case of the U. S. A., however, the decline in its share in world export trade has been quite precipitous—the decline being from 15.61 per cent in 1929 to 10.95 per cent in 1933. It is significant that in spite of the increased competitive power acquired by the countries on account of depreciation of currencies, their export trade has not been so well maintained as that of the countries on the gold standard. The advantage of currency depreciation has been, as Sir Strakoch points out, "made nugatory by the high tariffs and the many other restrictions to international trade which have been interposed, the world over." Japan, however, is the only country which has succeeded by a persistent policy of currency devaluation in developing a greater share of world's export trade in 1933 as compared with 1929. During this period her share has advanced from 2.93 per cent to 3.13 per cent.

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India's export trade. The Government of India should appreciate gravity of the situation and take adequate steps, through India's Trade Commissioners in Europe, for the preservation of India's export market on the continent.

I shall now make a brief reference to the commodities which are of special interests to Bengal.

#### JUTE

The crop estimate of 1934 showed no marked reduction as compared with 1933 and indicated an outturn of 7,939,000 bales as against 7,987,000 bales in 1933. The exports of raw jute fell from 729,000 tons in 1933 to 721,000 tons in 1934 or by 1 per cent in quantity and from Rs. 10.90 lakhs to Rs 10.25 lakhs or by 6 per cent in value. An analysis of the distribution of the exports of raw jute shows that the U. K. took only 167,000 tons valued at Rs. 2.32 lakhs in 1934, showing a decline of 12,000 tons in quantity and of Rs. 33 lakhs in value in comparison with her offtake in 1933. The offtake of Germany declined from 150,000 tons to 100,000 tons and that of France from 86,000 tons to 78,000 tons. Italy, however, increased her offtake from 62,000 tons to 78,000 tons and Japan from 17,000 tons to 22,000 tons. The offtakes of Sweden, Argentine, Spain and China showed moderate increase but the shares of Netherlands, Belgium, Egypt, the U. S. A., and Brazil showed a decline.

During the early part of 1934, the price of raw jute was on the whole more promising than it was in the previous year. And in the later half, inspite of the slackening of foreign demand for raw jute as reflected in the declining volume of its exports, the decision of the Government of Bengal to restrict the production of the fibre during the year 1935, by 31.2 per cent, introduced an upward tendency in the price. Accordingly there was a rise of about Re 1 and 8 as. per bale in the case of pucca bales. Though the restriction scheme will be carried out on a voluntary basis, the decision of the Government to harness their official resources to the task and to spend Rs. 50,000 for the maintenance of the propaganda has so far helped to sustain the price of raw jute. The price index for raw jute was 38 at the end of 1933 but during the first quarter of 1934, it ranged between 42 and 43. Subsequently it receded to 38 in October, but by the close of the year 1934, it rose up to 44, though again a downward trend has ensued in the beginning of the present year.

#### JUTE MANUFACTURES

The exports of jute manufactures declined from Rs. 21.44 lakhs to Rs. 20.95 lakhs or by two per cent in 1934. While exports of gunny bags advanced from 401 millions valued at Rs. 9.91 lakhs in 1933 to 412 millions valued at Rs. 9.99 lakhs in 1934, thus showing an increase of 11 millions in quantity and of Rs 8 lakhs in value, the exports of gunny cloths amounted to only 1,029 million yards valued at Rs. 10.74 lakhs as compared with 1,053 million yards valued at Rs. 11.25 lakhs in 1933, showing a decrease of 24 million yards in quantity and of Rs. 51 lakhs in value. But inspite of this falling-off in international demand for jute manufactures, the Calcutta mills have had brisk activity on account of the existence of comparatively smaller stocks of jute manufactures and consequently they were in a position to release about 2 and half per cent of the hessian looms sealed down under agreement. At the end of the year, however, mill stocks of hessian cloth and bags were larger than in the previous year. The share of the U. K. in the exports of gunny bags advanced from 43 millions in 1933 to 47 millions in 1934. Other countries like Belgium, U. S. S. R., the Netherlands, France and Greece enlarged their purchases of Indian gunny bags, but the offtakes of Germany, Norway and Turkey were curtailed. In Asia except Java and Hong Kong, all other countries took more of India's gunny bags in 1934 than in 1933. Egypt, South Africa and the U. S. A. also enlarged their purchases in 1934. In the offtake of gunny cloth, also, the U. S. A. remained the largest single customer, but her purchase dwindled from 635 million yards in 1933 to 584 million yards in 1934. Canada also took less gunny cloth in the year under review. But exports to Argentine advanced from 187 million yards to 218 million yards, to the U. K. from 50 million yards to 52 million yards and to Australia from 21 million yards to 23 million yards.

Throughout the year the hessian market was on the whole steady and prices ruled better than in 1933. Barring seasonal fluctuations, the price level was in sympathy with the prices of raw jute. The price index for jute manufactures was 75 in December 1933. In sympathy with the price of raw jute, it rose during the early part of the year and it climbed upto 83 in February, but it declined subsequently to 73 in June, but it again improved gradually and rose to 76 towards the close of the year 1934.

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#### BUDGET PROPOSALS

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While, however the action of Sir James Grigg in thus setting aside a crore of rupees for rural development scheme will be greatly appreciated, I must at the same time express my disappointment at the pronouncement subsequently made by him in introducing the Finance Bill, against a planned system of economy and a distinct bias he has evinced for a policy of *laissez faire*. It is too late in the day to decry against economic planning, and I do not propose to detain you by making any observations on the need for the adoption of a well-conceived system of planned economy, but I would only like to remind the Hon'ble the Finance Member that when most countries of the world are proceeding apace with schemes boldly conceived and worked under the auspices of the Government and have achieved large measure of economic recovery, it will spell disaster to India if the Government persist in their haphazard policy so long followed.

I would further like to add that the observations recently made by Sir James Grigg in the Assembly about the prospect of augmenting the income of the masses through the adoption of any capital expenditure schemes and also of giving any substantial strength to the economic fabric through any scheme of capital expenditure are not quite tenable, at least under conditions as they obtain in India. Sir James's observations are no doubt based on the opinion held by the Government in England. But other countries like America, South Africa, Italy, Australia, etc., have also undertaken considerable public works expenditure with a view to stimulate recovery, and have obtained satisfactory results. In India, further, the country is still largely undeveloped, and consequently the scope for suitable public works expenditure should be wide enough. Construction of roads and bridges, large housing programmes in crowded cities, improvement of drainage, irrigation and clearing waterways to evade floods and development of hydroelectric power provide suitable lines on which public works expenditure may be undertaken in India with great advantage. Further, development of rural areas in India where almost every village may be said to be depressed also calls for action on the part of the Government on the lines on which reconstructional work in the West Cumberland, Durham and Tyneside in England has been begun on a considerable scale. The Honourable Member stated but a truism when he said that public expenditure could only result in a gain if devoted to projects which would increase the productivity of the country and show definite prospects of adequate return more or less in the near future. Such a rigid orthodox view of the productivity of any scheme of public expenditure does not take note of the fact that such schemes have been considered and adopted by all Governments as a means of giving an impetus to the drooping economic life of the people and have in many cases been found to yield on balance substantial results. Further, there can be no denying that the effects of capital expenditure in a period of depression permeate through the entire economic structure of a country and as such help to stimulate the industrial activities of the country. The productivity of such expenditure is not thus to be assessed merely by the revenue yields of the project to which the borrowed funds may be applied, but a rational criterion of evaluation would be its effect on the whole of the national economy.

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tive work. Our co-operative system still needs considerable improvement so as to make its services more useful to the agriculturist. I hope the measures which the Central Government propose to undertake in this connection on the recommendations of Mr. Darling would yield fruitful results.

In addition to the agriculturist, the position of such rural inhabitants as pursue village industries and other professional callings like blacksmithy, pottery and weaving needs rehabilitation. The improvement in the condition of our rural population and propaganda in favour of the use of products manufactured in the village instead of imported substitutes would materially help to improve the condition of our village artisans. Further, development of village industries would provide opportunities to agriculturists themselves to usefully employ their idle time.

In the task of rehabilitating our rural economic life, our primary duty should be to help the agriculturists to help themselves. The reconstruction of our rural life should be based on the efforts of our rural population. To achieve this end, we shall have to educate our agricultural population in the economic problems that face them. Such problems as elementary education, sanitation etc., also deserve the foremost attention, for it is only an intelligent population that can analyse problems and adopt measures to tackle them. No work is, therefore, more important than that of carrying on an intensive educative propaganda among our rural population. We have to arm them with the power which knowledge and understanding bring and which inspires hope and confidence.

#### ACTIVITIES OF THE CHAMBER IN 1934

Gentlemen, I would now like to make a few observations on the activities of your Committee during last year. As you will find from the Report, the subject of granting adequate protection to various industries, as well as that of the advisability of India's entering into trade agreements with the United Kingdom and the Empire countries engaged the attention of the Committee for the greater part of the year. I may mention, in particular, the action taken by the Government of India in granting tariff preference to the British Steel Industry, as well as the views urged by the Lancashire Deputation on the attention of the British Government, and the protests that were made by the Committee against any legislative or administrative measures calculated to weaken the position of Indian industries *vis-a-vis* that of our foreign competitors. I should also refer to the discriminative action taken by the Government of Bombay against the importation into Western Presidency of perfumed spirits manufactured in Bengal. As you are aware, similar handicaps are imposed against Bengal perfumery products in several other provinces, notably Madras, but it is unfortunate that till now the appeals made from time to time by this Chamber to the Government of Bengal have not borne any fruit. A similar fate has also been shared by the mustard oil industry of Bengal. The industry has been continuing in a very precarious condition for the last two years owing to the discriminatory freight policy pursued by the E. I. Ry. The Chamber has been moving the Railway Board for a revision of the policy ever since the question was brought to its attention by several members of the Chamber, but the unduly long time that the Board is taking in coming to a decision has resulted in the failure of a pretty good number of oil mills of the Province. I do not wish to detain you longer by referring to other matters to which your Committee had to give their attention last year, and to which references are made in the Report.

I would conclude by making a brief reference to the Accounts of the Chamber. The total liability at the end of the year was about Rs. 5,500 (in round figures). This has been due to our expectations regarding the realisation of subscription not having been fulfilled, due no doubt to the financial stringency of many of the members who have suffered much from the economic depression; there was also some slight excess expenditure under two items, the excess amounts being about Rs. 30 under Electric charges and about Rs. 76 under Charges General. These excess items were duly considered by the Executive Committee and they now await your sanction. I am, however, glad to inform you that almost all the liabilities have been met by special donations contributed by the members of the Committee.

With these words, gentlemen, I beg to move that the Report of the retiring Committee together with the Statement of Accounts be adopted".

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With these words, gentlemen, I beg to move that the Report of the retiring Committee together with the Statement of Accounts be adopted".

into her borders. The policy of economic isolation which is being attempted in many a foreign country will not be a suitable one for India, and new avenues for exports will have to be explored by establishing trade relations with foreign countries on reciprocal basis.

There has not been any definite improvement in our export trade which can specifically attribute as the effect of the Ottawa scheme of preferences. The United Kingdom being the only supplier of manufactured articles within the Empire, the advantages conferred on her under the Ottawa Scheme outweighed the benefits which India shared along with the Dominions as suppliers of raw materials. The working of the scheme, even according to the Government of India's report for the period ending March 1934, does not indicate any material benefit to the export of agricultural produce of India. The direct effect of this scheme has been to impede the creation of direct markets with foreign countries in a number of articles and to encourage entrepot trade in London markets. It has to some extent checked the growth of internationalism in trade relations between India and the other countries of the world and even provoked foreign countries with colonial possessions to create close preserves on lines similar to those created by the United Kingdom. It has been argued that the Empire market is the only stable market and that it would be in India's interest to develop it. I must sound a note of warning to those who are inclined to argue on these lines that India, as a substantial producer of raw materials, cannot in the long run, afford to depend upon one single market—however stable at the risk of losing her place in the other important foreign markets of the world. Even the United Kingdom which initiated the move of preserving Empire market for Empire countries, has all along during this period been concluding trade treaties with a number of foreign countries and it would be to India's advantage if she is to follow suit by negotiating independent trade treaties with her best foreign customers. The Legislative Assembly would soon be called upon to review the effects of the working of the Ottawa Scheme of preferences and I hope the Assembly would take note of the above factors in examining the material that would be placed before them by the Government and would arrive at a decision as to how far India should commit herself in any scheme of Empire Preference.

#### COTTON AND COAL

The year showed a noticeable advance both in the production of cotton piecegoods and the diversification of the varieties manufactured, though the fortunes of the industry at many centres were anything but satisfactory. Many of the companies could hardly show any surplus even to cover the depreciation charges. This was due to overlapping of production in certain styles, and the low purchasing power of the masses, who are the main consumers of cloth. It was perhaps just as well that the industry had to pass through these difficult times, because it forced many of the manufacturers to improve their organisation, and urged them to economise in various directions. The most noticeable feature of the year has been the rationalisation undertaken on a large scale at the two chief centres of Bombay and Ahmedabad, which between them account for nearly two-thirds of the production. While these efforts deserve our sympathy, it is painful to find that no organised effort is being made to capture the Indian market in all styles of piecegoods. Taking the triennial average we are obliged to import 930 million yards a year, i. e. about 31 per cent of our mill production, amounting to 3,030 million yards per year. There is no reason why the country could not efficiently and cheaply produce these styles, which are being imported from the foreign countries.

Coal presents a different and an unhappy picture. Ever since the post-war period, the industry has been having a series of bad years, whose end does not appear in sight. This is due to the fact that probably in on other country, the industry is so much dependent on industrial consumption as in India, with the consequence that it can hope for a revival only following the revival of industry. Therefore, the poor off-take by the Railways, the depressed conditions of various industries and the diminishing Bunker trade had their effects on the coal industry. However, the trouble has been greatly extenuated by the unsympathetic treatment that the industry has been receiving from the Railways in the matter of freight rates, with the consequence that there has been a lack of proper distribution of the production and a lack of remunerative prices. If the coal industry is to occupy the place it deserves in our national economy, there has to be a radical revision in the freight policy. With properly adjusted rates, the industry might be able to obtain a wider market for coke in the different urban centres of the country, and thus decrease its wholesale dependence on purely industrial consumption.

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A similarly unnecessary sacrifice has been imposed on the country through the silver policy of the Government of India. On more than one occasion, the country has complained against the serious consequences of this policy, but it has been of no avail. When the Hilton-Young Commission recommended the sales of silver, it was with the express idea that the proceeds would be utilised to build up gold reserves. But the Government had no intention of doing so, and instead, it utilised them for cancelling *ad hoc* securities in the paper currency reserves. Apart from the fact that this has contracted the currency and thus increased the rigour of deflation, the wisdom of this policy is doubtful from another angle also. It should be remembered that the Government of India are and continue to remain even under the Reserve Bank Act, under an obligation to exchange paper currency for silver. Whilst, therefore, this obligation lasts, there is always a contingency that silver reserves would be needed, as they were in the past and the Government of India might have to purchase them again in a dear market. It also appears that the requirements of the U. S. A. are large, and that the current supplies of silver are not adequate. Under the circumstances, a more cautious policy on the part of the Government is desirable from all points of view.

Great hopes are entertained in the country by the establishment of the Reserve Bank, which is expected to start a new monetary era. As regards the selection of the personnel of the Board of Directors is concerned, it has met with the general approval of the country. Whether the hopes entertained about the Bank will be realised or not, will depend upon a correct interpretation of the duties and obligations of a Central Bank. If the Bank is to build up a Bill Market, and substantially help the agriculture and the industries, the rate structure will have to be so arranged that a certain amount of Bank Money is at the permanent disposal of the market. In this, it will be following the practice of the Federal Reserve System of the U. S. A., which, during a short period, has been able to secure for the American Banking System a remarkable progress by keeping quite a large part of its funds as a permanent part of the funds of the money market. Again, there is in the country a rich indigenous Banking organisation, which, it is the duty of the Reserve Bank to preserve and develop. In this connection it is hoped that the Bank will jealously guard its sphere of influence and object to any Legislation being passed without its approval, which will have a direct or an indirect influence on this Banking organisation.

#### TRADE AGREEMENTS

In matters industrial, notwithstanding the growing ideals of economic self-sufficiency in other countries not excluding the United Kingdom the policy of rapid Industrialisation has not been undertaken. But the new orientation which is being given to the Tariff Policy, through Trade Agreements, and which will leave the country with a shadow of protection is a matter of grave and more immediate concern. Those who argue that the Indo-British Trade Agreement is to be short lived, or those who say that it gives Lancashire no more than what it already enjoyed, ignore the real point at issue. It is not so much the concessions themselves, which are to be deprecated, but the fact that attempts are being made to convert these concessions into the basic principles of the Tariff Policy. It may be that the Tariff Board sometimes used the price differentials as a convenient guide in arriving at its conclusions. Another harmful innovation introduced is that the margin of protection between the United Kingdom goods and the foreign goods shall not be altered, so as to be detrimental to the interests of the United Kingdom goods. In other words, if it is found necessary to concede a bigger market to any foreign country, this can only be done by sacrificing India's share of the market. The most objectionable feature of the Agreement is that the United Kingdom industrialists can object to the continuance of protection to any of our industries at any particular level at any time. Unless there is a reasonable guarantee that the protection granted will be continued for a sufficiently long period, no industry will be able to undertake a programme of Capital investment, with a view to increase its productive equipment, and the country will be no better off for all its sacrifices. No government has been known to have surrendered such valuable principles unmindful of its own requirements.

These Arguments,—the Ottawa, the Indo-Japanese and the Indo-British—will terminate shortly. At that time instead of the negotiations being rushed through, sufficient material should be made available to the public to gauge their effects on trade and the industry of the country. In this connection, it may be mentioned that the practice of securing greater trade privileges, by means of separate agreements, is increasing and we shall find it necessary to enter into many such agreements in future. The Indo-Burma Agreement is already under consideration. It is the direct outcome of the political separation forced on Burma, and the preservation and continuance of

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Before concluding, I should like to say that in a few days time, *Sir Joseph Bhore*, the first Indian Commerce Member, will retire from the Office and I am sure, every one in this Hall will desire me to convey to him our sense of appreciation of his sympathetic hearing and prompt disposal of the questions that we have had the occasion to take to him, and his sincere efforts to meet our points of view regarding them. It is true, there have been occasions when we had differences of opinion with him, but even in these differences, one was sure of the essential purity of his convictions and honest beliefs in the path that he has to follow. On the eve of his retirement, we can say with one voice that he may elsewhere outshine the brilliant record that he is leaving here. It is a matter of great satisfaction that he is to be succeeded by yet another Indian, Mr. Zafrulla Khan, whose astute ability and reputation have preceded him and which will not be a small asset in looking well after the Indian interests ; and you will join with me in extending our welcome to him in his new office and our assurance that we shall be always willing to work in close co-operation on the issues that confront the country. We shall also be losing the services of that capable administrator, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, who has not been keeping good health for some time. We all hope that, being free from the cares of the State, he will speedily recover his health.

### Proceedings & Resolutions

After the Presidential address, and the adoption of the annual report and the statement of accounts for the year, the Chair moved a resolution, disapproving the Government of India Bill, as it outlined a constitution which did not conform to the promises and pledges made to India, was based on complete distrust, in the sense of fair-play, of Indians and their ability to govern the country and postulated numerous safe-guards opposed to fiscal autonomy. The resolution was accepted.

#### PROTEST AGAINST RAILWAY AUTHORITY

The second resolution moved by Mr. A. D. Shroff protested against the decision of His Majesty's Government to specifically lay down the constitution of the Federal Railway authority in the Government of India Bill, which had made a departure from the promises given at the Round Table Conference, that the Federal Railway authority would be constituted under the Act of the Indian Legislature. The resolution particularly condemned the proposals in part 8 of the Government of India Bill, all clauses of which made the Federal Government and Ministers helpless in regard to Railway Administration in as much as all important powers had been vested in the Governor-General. Mr. Shroff said that Indians were vitally interested in Railways as Rs. 795 crores of their money was invested in capital outlay and the Railways employed as many as 800,000 men. In future, even small mercies, which were given at present, would not be given. There could not be any alteration in rates and freights, without the approval of the Governor-General.

Mr. R. K. Sidhuwa seconded the resolution and contended that the Government of India's recommendations in favour of the Statutory Railway authority were on the following grounds to render prompt and adequate service to military authorities in times of political crisis ; to guarantee services of higher officers in Railways appointed by the Secretary of State ; to ensure future recruitment of Europeans in large scale on military grounds ; to maintain the interests of the Anglo-Indian community in the Railway Service. The resolution was adopted.

#### SAFEGUARDS

The third resolution, moved by Mr. Manu Subedar, characterised the safe-guards in the new constitution as unduly rigid and that provisions against discrimination were of such comprehensive and sweeping character as were likely to cause abuse of power to the serious detriment of the country's industrial and commercial development. The proposals regarding shipping were completely retrograde and were calculated to bar for ever the development of Indian Mercantile Marine.

Mr. Manu Subedar added that the safeguards were a clear threat to the growth of proper national industries. The British people were accustomed to break promises but not threats. The safeguards were merely for the continuance of undue privileges, which the British enjoyed in India. He felt that they constituted the surest method of precipitating constitutional deadlocks in India before the constitution finally broke down. It had been said, continued Mr. Subedar, that the safeguards were never to be used but were mere paper safeguards. Then why did they introduce them at all ?

Mr. Padampat Singania seconded the resolution which was adopted.  
The House adjourned for lunch at this stage.

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The House adjourned for lunch at this stage.

How could this evil be corrected ? The answer was to reverse the operation. If the U. S. A. bought silver and sold gold, the result would be achieved. The price of gold would thus fall and the price of commodities would rise thus bringing about prosperity. He said that there was an announcement in the Press that the U. S. A. would sell its surplus gold. That news was a surprise to him. He appealed to India to co-operate with the U. S. A. in selling gold and buying silver, so that there would be rise in prices all over the world. The resolution was adopted.

#### INCOME-TAX

Three resolutions were then put from the Chair and accepted. The first of these urged the Government to confer negotiable character on railway receipts. The second resolution disapproved of the legislation in certain Provinces regarding rural indebtedness, which would enable bigger landholding interests to evade their lawfully contracted debt obligations to the serious prejudice of the interest of the indigenous banker and urged the Government that all legal provisions on rural indebtedness should be uniform in all provinces and should not be framed without consulting the Reserve Bank one of whose main functions should be the maintenance of adequate and uniform credit facilities in rural areas. The third resolution urged the abolition of the surcharge on income-tax and super-tax, and legislation for allowing business concerns to carry forward business losses against the profits of subsequent years and for allowing a proportionately higher depreciation allowance on machinery in such factories which worked extra night on holiday shifts.

#### COASTAL TRADE

*Mr. D. P. Khaitan* moved a long resolution regarding coastal trade.

The resolution urged the reservation of the coastal traffic of India to Indian ships by legislation and wanted the Government to increase the share of Indian-owned and managed tonnage from 23.7 per cent as at present to 51 per cent of the total tonnage engaged in the coastal trade during the next 5 years and to increase the liftings of cargo off the coast by Indian shipping from 25 per cent as at present to 51 per cent on the whole coast during 5 years. As regards overseas trade, Indian-owned and managed shipping should, as a first step, be enabled to have 50 per cent of the services between Madras and the Straits and between Karachi and the Persian Gulf Ports, during the next 5 years and that for this purpose subsidy or bounty not exceeding Rs. 10 lakhs yearly should be given to Indian-owned and managed vessels.

Mr. Khaitan gave figures to show how all civilised countries in the world were subsidizing their shipping in various ways. Why should not India follow that course and like them, benefit by visible and invisible revenues through shipping ?

*Mr. V. Ramdas Pantulu* emphasised that the shipping industry was not the concern of shipping companies only but of the whole nation.

*Mr. B. Das* said that the Government of India had no sympathy with the development of Indian shipping. He advocated the abolition of the subsidy to the P. and O. Company for carrying mails, now that all first class mails would be carried by air. The resolution was adopted.

*Mr. Amritalal Ojha* moved a resolution condemning the policy of the Government of India in not affording any relief to the coal industry.

Mr. Ojha said that the coal industry was neglected by the Government and pleaded for the complete abolition of the surcharge on it.

*Mr. Mukherjee* contended that the reduction of the surcharge by 2 and a half per cent was meagre and niggardly.

The resolution was accepted. The House then adjourned.

#### RESOLUTIONS—Second Day—31st. March 1935

##### INSURANCE IN INDIA

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce resumed sitting to-day.

*Pandit K. Santanam* moved : "This Federation is emphatically of opinion that the progress of Indian Insurance Companies is being seriously hampered by the advent of many foreign companies which has resulted in severe competition and that with a view to protecting indigenous insurance companies, suitable legislation be introduced by the Government at an early date.

*Pandit Santanam* said that insurance companies in the world had accumulated a capital of Rs. 9,000 crores. In other countries, insurance companies financed industrial development. In India, not only had the Government taken no steps to foster Indian companies but given free field to foreign companies. Mexico recently introduced a law

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*Pandit Santanam* said that insurance companies in the world had accumulated a capital of Rs. 9,000 crores. In other countries, insurance companies financed industrial development. In India, not only had the Government taken no steps to foster Indian companies but given free field to foreign companies. Mexico recently introduced a law

arriving at an understanding or arrangement or negotiating trade agreements with these foreign countries to safeguard the export trade of India.

*Mr. Shriram* drew pointed attention to the serious diminution in the value and quantum of international trade since 1929, due largely to the policy adopted by almost all countries imposing high tariffs, restricting the quantity of imports controlling foreign exchange, deprecating the currency and like for the purpose of protecting national markets. This policy, said the speaker, was dictated by the unwillingness of the creditor nations to accept goods and services in payment of debts due on reparation account or otherwise. India had been forced to draw heavily on her reserves of gold and during the last three years exported gold to the value of 65.5 crores, 57 crores and 33 crores respectively by way of supplementing her merchandise deficit. The only way to stop this was to devise measures to liquidate India's external obligations and enter into trade treaties.

*Mr. M. P. Gandhi* supported the resolution, which was adopted.

#### INDO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT

*Mr. Mathradas Vissanji* moved a resolution conveying the felicitations of the Federation to those members of the Assembly who recorded their decisive verdict against the Indo-British Trade Agreement and strongly protesting against the Government of India not acting on the verdict of the Assembly. The Federation further warned British commercial and industrial interests that any agreement, arrived at over the head of the Indian commercial community, was likely to do them greater harm than good. The mover, who was strongly supported by *Mr. Popatlal Nagri* and *Mr. Uma Shankar Dixit*, condemned the undue haste with which the agreement was concluded and challenged the authority of the Commissioner to sign the report.

*Mr. Kapadia* appealed to the electorate not to return those members who voted against the rejection of the agreement. The resolution was adopted with acclamation.

#### SEPARATION OF BURMA

*Kumararaja M. A. Muthia Chettiar* moved the following resolution on the separation of Burma :—"The Federation is of the opinion (1) that the J. P. C.'s findings and aspersions on Indians in Burma and provisions made in the Government of India Bill for the promulgation of orders restricting the immigration of Indians are unjust and unwarranted, in view of the long association of Indians with Burma and their substantial contribution to the development of Burma ; (2) that the provision in the India Bill vesting in the future legislature of Burma power to restrict free entry of Indians into Burma or to impose conditions on immigrants makes it particularly invidious that the British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom are exempted from such restrictions ; (3) that paragraph 2 of Clause 435 of the India Bill whereby statutory recognition and approval are given to such laws as to prohibit or restrict the sale of agricultural land is, in view of the special circumstances in practice, bound to become of a discriminatory and expropriatory character ; (4) that with regard to the franchise applicable to Indians, no variation should be made which will place them at a disadvantage compared with franchise applicable to them at present and (5) that as there is a large number of persons in Burma who are not Indian subjects of His Majesty domiciled in British India, but are subjects of Indian States, the sections applicable to these persons also, as they are carrying on business or professions in Burma and thus have large interests.

"The Federation resolves to urge upon the Government of India and the Secretary of State that when Burma is separated from India, there should be adequate statutory protection for Indians in all matters and in particular provision should be made with regard to (1) unrestricted right of entry ; (2) carrying of any occupation, business or profession ; (3) holding property and public offices ; (4) right to reside and travel ; and (5) right to alienate land and other properties without any restriction."

*Mr. Muthia Chettiar* declared that the Government of India far from looking to the interests of Indians in other parts of the world tried in respect of separated Burma to impose humiliating restrictions. The speaker briefly related how Burma was developed by the labour and capital of Indians even before the advent of Britishers. Indeed according to the census report of 1912, the Government themselves had encouraged Indians to settle in Burma. Indians had always thought that the *status quo* would be maintained, but the J. P. C. proposals came as a bolt from the blue. The speaker strongly repudiated the aspersions cast by the J. P. C. on Chettier bankers. He assured that the Chettier community had always been willing to help the people

arriving at an understanding or arrangement or negotiating trade agreements with these foreign countries to safeguard the export trade of India.

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small steamship companies in the West Coast will be able to exist—I use the word 'exist' advisedly because so far as I understand it will not be possible for them to grow and develop. Para 354 of the J. P. C. Report makes it impossible for the future Indian Legislature to pass any enactment which may discriminate against British shipping on the ground of reciprocity. It implies that as there is nothing to prevent Indian-owned companies from plying their ships in British waters, there should be no restriction for the British ships to ply in Indian waters. Sir Phiroze Sethna the other day exploded this doctrine of reciprocity at the meeting of the Liberal Federation and very rightly remarked :

"Is anything more absurd heard of and is not this advice downright hypocrisy ? Would it be possible for us to compete with British-owned ships in European waters ? The authors of the Report are fully conversant that for very good reasons it would be next to impossible for us to do so. Reciprocity is mere sham".

These words of the great Liberal leader will oppress the depth of national feeling on this subject.

There are three recognised ways of developing the national shipping of a country. The most important and the universally recognized policy is to reserve the coastal trade in national shipping. According to the enquiry of the League of Nations, the result of which was published in 1931, 27 out of 32 maritime countries have reserved their coastal trade to their own nationals and the English Conservative party recently stated that when it got into power, it would reserve their coasting trade to British ships. You are all aware that the Mercantile Marine Committee appointed by the Government of India themselves came definitely to the conclusion that the only effective way of building up an Indian Mercantile Marine was 'the eventual reservation of the Indian coasting trade for ships, the ownership and the controlling interest of which are predominantly Indian'. But suppose a Bill was brought into the Assembly to-morrow for reserving the coastal trade of India to its own nationals and was passed. Would it help Indian shipping at all ? I say no, because under paragraph 352 of the J. P. C. Report both the Company incorporated now and hereafter in the United Kingdom as well as British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom who are directors, shareholders, servants or agents of the Company incorporated now or hereafter in India shall be deemed to have complied with all conditions imposed by Indian law upon companies so incorporated relating among other things to the provisions of directors, shareholders, agents or servants, whatever may be the provision of the Act passed by the Indian Legislature under the new dispensation of the J. P. C. Report, namely the proposed Commercial Safeguards, British Companies would be construed to have complied with those provisions of the Law *without actually complying with them*. The reservation of the coastal trade would, therefore, not help in the least the development of Indian shipping. This is how the proposed safeguards will militate against the development of an Indian industry.

'Another important manner in which the national shipping industry is developed in all maritime countries is the grant of subsidies. Let us suppose, for a moment, that the financial condition of India improves and the Indian legislature decides to grant subsidy to an Indian company, to enable it to fight against the unfair competition of the vested shipping companies, will it help in any way in building up an Indian Mercantile Marine ? Again I say no, because under paragraph 356 the British shipping companies against whose unfair competition such protection by way of subsidy is given will 'be equally eligible to participate in the grant with Indian companies'.

'It will now, therefore, be pertinent to enquire of the Government of India how in the face of the commercial safeguards in addition to para 354 of the Report, they would discharge their own responsibility which they have publicly undertaken to promote the development of an Indian Merchant Navy. Let not any one remind us that some sort of an arrangement was effected a couple of years ago. A ship here and a route there might have been granted, but the net position to-day is that the position of Indian shipping in the coastal trade has increased by one per cent, from 21 to 22, while its position in the overseas trade is practically nil. It is not the lack of initiative that prevents Indian shipping from going to the overseas trade, as stated by the Commerce Member in the House, but the real fact is that their hands are fettered and hence they cannot take their share in that trade. Restricted as the activities of Indian shipping are under the present arrangement, it is sad to reflect that the proposed Commercial Safeguards will make it impossible to go any further and I maintain that the Government owe a duty to the country to tell the public clearly how they propose to carry out their own responsibility and discharge their solemn promise of building up an Indian Merchant Navy both in the coastal and the overseas trade of India.

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moving to the internal markets and to the ports, they cannot hope to tackle the marketing problem at all. The moment the Railways of India become responsive to the national needs, then this most stupendous obstacle to the trade and industry of India will have been finally and conclusively solved. Indian merchants have ceaselessly drawn attention to the harsh and discriminating Railway rates. The Railway rates Advisory Committee is a mere ornament, and merchants have neither the time nor the money nor the patience to fight out cases before that Committee; the Government are helpless because they have no control over the Railway Agents in the matter of rates between maxima and minima, and the Railways give the stereotyped reply that "the traffic can bear it" or "that Steamship competition must be faced." In short, the high and preferential rates remain and crush Indian trade and industries day in and day out. After repeated pressure the Railways have taken on hand the work of revising the antiquated General Classification of goods. But it is all a hole and corner method. They refuse to see that Railway rates are a matter of life and death to merchants and manufacturers and not a mere question of profit and loss to shareholders of the Railway companies. Accordingly the commercial bodies have neither been represented in the investigation nor even consulted. The Railway Board, the accredited tax-payer's representative, has had no say in the matter. Passenger fares are similarly much above the pre-war level. Such conveniences as Mercantile Coupons, return tickets for long distances, etc., are still not a uniform feature of all the Railways.

All advanced countries have been making Herculean efforts to raise the price level. They reduced currency standards, restricted production, prevented export of gold, restricted import of foreign goods and so on. What have the Government of India done? Instead of devaluing the rupee they have practically overvalued it. The 16d. rupee that ruled from 1898 onwards up till 1925, except for a few months after the war, has been transformed into the 18d. rupee, and what is worse, the Government pretend to have done it in the best interests of India. The dollar has been devalued 40 per cent; the yen has been devalued over 40 per cent; so also the Dominion currencies, even the Franc and the Mark and the Lire which retain the gold basis have been fully devalued in the post-war period. The difference between India and those countries is that they have a National Government while we have not. The very natural ratio of 16d. is bound to raise the internal price level without disturbing the world market for Indian commodities. Every pound worth of goods sold abroad would then fetch Rs. 15 instead of Rs. 13-5-1 now. Is not that a definite advantage to Indian exporters? If the price of Indian export goods rises the price of similar goods consumed at home automatically rises, the buying power of the masses rises with it, and so the price of imported goods rises and the importers are also benefited. The question then arises why the Government are so unwilling to introduce this very necessary and harmless change. It undoubtedly is an advantage to the European merchants and servicemen who make their monthly remittances home, thereby getting 2 pence extra for every rupee remitted. It is also an advantage to those foreigners who want to repatriate little by little their capital invested in this country. In that case also every rupee remitted brings 2d. extra. It undoubtedly is an advantage to those exporters abroad who have a grip on the Indian market and want to make their goods as cheap as possible to India, so that their goods will be sold even at the expense of Indian produce and manufactures. In the face of these circumstances is it possible to suppose that Government have devised the 18d. ratio in the best interests of India? This great but imperceptible and intangible benefit to foreigners trading with India is priced by the Government of India even above political self-government, because even as they concede a further measure of responsible government they zealously withhold the right of determining the currency and exchange of the country. The Reserve Bank has every other right for the control and management of the credit and finances of the country but is not trusted with the right of touching the exchange ratio. So also the Indian Legislature. Where is the control over the economic welfare of the people without the right to adjust its currency according to the needs of the country? Are we to believe that the British Government know the economic interests of India better than the Reserve Bank of India, the Indian Commercial bodies and the Indian Legislature? Political freedom will be worth nothing without the freedom to promote the economic welfare of the country.

As though the bondage in the matter of currency and exchange is not complete we have had two recent Agreements made between India and Britain almost in an exparte manner, agreements which cut into the root of the industrial and commercial prosperity of the country, and which were entered into behind the back of the Indian

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# The Chamber of Princes

Opening Day—New Delhi—22nd. January 1935

## Viceroy's Opening Speech

The Princes' Chamber met on the **22nd. January 1935** at New Delhi with a fair attendance of members and galleries were crowded with Ministers and distinguished visitors. All Princes were introduced to H. E. the Viceroy in the Chancellor's Room.

Thereafter, the Viceroy opened the session, with an address lasting 15 minutes in which he advised the Princes that it was in their interest to join the Federation scheme.

The Viceroy said :—

Your Highnesses! This is the third time that I have enjoyed the privilege of presiding at your deliberations in this Chamber and I welcome Your Highnesses more heartily than ever on this present occasion for various reasons. A period of nearly two years has elapsed since the last session took place, but though there has been no regular meeting of the Princes' Chamber during this long interval, Your Highnesses have held many informal discussions among yourselves about the all-important subject which has never ceased of late to engage your attention—the constitutional future of India to which I shall briefly refer later in my remarks.

Let me commence to-day by referring to the losses that your order has sustained in the course of the last two years. There are, I regret to say, no less than four Ruling Princes who were members of this Chamber when last we met and have since then passed away. The first name that I must mention is that of his late Highness the Maharaja Sir Ranjit Singhji, Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, who died on the April 2, 1933. As a member of this Chamber the late Jam Sahib attained a prominence that few ruling princes have equalled. He served as a member of the Standing Committee from its very beginning until 1932 when he was elected Chancellor. On no less than three occasions, he represented the Indian States at the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva. His late Highness was made a Major in His Majesty's Army in 1914 and he served with the expeditionary force in France remaining on field service up to November 1915. In recognition of his war services, he was given the rank of Lt.-Col. in 1918 and his salute was raised permanently to 13 guns with a personal salute of 15 guns. He was at the same time granted the title of Maharaja as a hereditary distinction but it was perhaps as a sportsman and particularly as one of the greatest and most attractive cricketers that the world has seen that the late Jam Sahib was most widely known to the general public outside this country. In every walk of life, he was a man who inspired the affection and regard of all who came in contact with him. In peace and in war, in the sphere of politics and in the field of sport, he was an outstanding figure. As one who was privileged to be on intimate terms with him for many years—for our friendship began long before I ever came to India.—I mourn his loss very deeply and I am sure that all those present here to-day who were fortunate enough to know his late Highness personally will fully share the feelings I expressed.

Another sad loss that the States of Western India have suffered is by the untimely death of the late Thakur Saheb of Wadhwan who passed away towards the end of July last at the early age of 35 years. Central India has to mourn the death of His late Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior). His late Highness was granted the hereditary title of Maharaja in 1918 for his services rendered in connection with the War. He was a man of most devout character, known far and wide for his piety and deep devotion to his faith. The Punjab Princes have lost a distinguished member of their Order by the sudden death in Europe of His Highness the Maharaja of Sirmur. His late Highness was also given the hereditary title of Maharaja in 1918. In recognition of his War services, he was also gazetted as Honorary Lt.-Colonel and he was further rewarded by the grant of a personal salute of thirteen guns in 1931. To the bereaved relatives of these princes I know that you will all join with me in expressing your sympathy and I know too that we are all united in wishing every happiness and prosperity to their successors. There are two princes who by the termination of their minorities have become new members of this Chamber—His Highness the Raja of Faridkot and His Highness the Nawab of Janjira. To them also we will all, I am sure, extend a cordial welcome coupled with the hope that they will take a constant interest in this Chamber in all matters that concern the Order of Princes.

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Another sad loss that the States of Western India have suffered is by the untimely death of the late Thakur Saheb of Wadhwan who passed away towards the end of July last at the early age of 35 years. Central India has to mourn the death of His late Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior). His late Highness was granted the hereditary title of Maharaja in 1918 for his services rendered in connection with the War. He was a man of most devout character, known far and wide for his piety and deep devotion to his faith. The Punjab Princes have lost a distinguished member of their Order by the sudden death in Europe of His Highness the Maharaja of Sirmur. His late Highness was also given the hereditary title of Maharaja in 1918. In recognition of his War services, he was also gazetted as Honorary Lt.-Colonel and he was further rewarded by the grant of a personal salute of thirteen guns in 1931. To the bereaved relatives of these princes I know that you will all join with me in expressing your sympathy and I know too that we are all united in wishing every happiness and prosperity to their successors. There are two princes who by the termination of their minorities have become new members of this Chamber—His Highness the Raja of Faridkot and His Highness the Nawab of Janjira. To them also we will all, I am sure, extend a cordial welcome coupled with the hope that they will take a constant interest in this Chamber in all matters that concern the Order of Princes.

baseless. I repeat again that they have no foundation whatever and I am sure that Your Highnesses will be the last to deny the truth of what I say. Nobody knows better than the Princes themselves that no form of coercion has been employed and it is, I think, legitimate to conclude that those who descend to entirely false allegations of this description must be hard put to it for arguments to support their case. I trust that enough has been done to convince you that in the new constitution no effort will be spared to protect the integrity of the States and I sincerely hope that the Princes, while not unmindful of their own particular interests, will not stand apart from the development that must inevitably affect the greater part of this great country, but will be ready to take their share in promoting the constitutional progress on sound and satisfactory lines and in helping the new political machinery to function effectively to the common good of British India, the Indian States and the Empire.

### Proceedings and Resolutions

The proceedings began with the Chancellor moving a resolution expressing profound sense of happiness on the completion by H. M. the King-Emperor of twenty-five years of beneficent reign.

*H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala* said that the King-Emperor was the embodiment of enlightened spirit and loyalty to the Imperial throne was the essential creed and the burning living faith of the Indian Princes. The successful conclusion of the Great War, the transformation of the Empire into a Commonwealth of Nations and the recovery from the financial crisis made the present Sovereign's reign a most glorious period in the annals of that historic House.

*The Maharaja of Bikaner*, seconding the resolution, said that no one more truly deserved the loyalty of his people than the King-Emperor and the gracious Queen. His Majesty fulfilled the ideals of kingship, held both in the East and the West.

The speaker hoped that no misguided feelings or political controversies would prevent any section of the people of British India from joining the Indian States in manifesting happiness on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee.

His Highness ;the; *Chief of Sangli* recalled His Majesty's message, in inaugurating the Chamber of Princes, when His Majesty had hoped that he would give the Princes a larger share in the political development of their motherland. It was truly fitting that this Chamber should pass such a resolution.

The Viceroy suggested that the resolution be passed with acclamation.

The *Chancellor* next moved resolutions mourning the loss of the late Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and the *Maharajas of Sirmur and Dewas (Junior)* and the *Thakur Sahib of Wadhwan*. The resolutions were passed, all members standing.

The Chancellor then moved a resolution congratulating the *Maharajas of Nawanagar, Sirmur and Dewas (Junior)* and the *Thakur Saheb of Wadhwan* on their accession to the Gadi and the *Raja of Faridkot* and the *Nawab of Janjira* on assumption of power and welcomed them to the Chamber. The resolution was passed with acclamation.

The Chancellor made a statement reviewing the work of the Chamber during the last two years. The Chamber also received the reports of Sir Abdus Samad Khan and Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, as representatives of India at the League of Nations meetings in 1933 and 1934 respectively.

*The Maharaja of Patiala* placed on the table the report of the representatives of the Chamber of Princes at the Joint Parliamentary Committee meeting, in which Sir Manubhai Mehta, Sir Liaqat Hayat Khan and Sir P. Pattani pointed out that they had not succeeded in impressing the Secretary of State with the sanctity of treaties, by including reference in the Preamble to the Act that the treaties were outside the Constitution Act. They had been more successful on the question of internal sovereignty and the maintenance of full autonomy.

### REFORMS REPORT

*The Maharaja of Patiala* next moved the following resolution relating to the J. P. C. Report :—

"The Chamber of Princes reaffirms its previous declaration about the readiness of the States to accede to All-India Federation, provided the essential conditions and guarantees which have been pressed for are included in the constitution."

"The Chamber must however reserve its opinion on the question until the Parliamentary Bill relating to constitutional reforms and contents of the proposed treaty of accession and of Instrument of Instructions to the Viceroy are known and have been examined."

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sovereignty of States and therefore, required a careful scrutiny. He also referred to the list of Federal subjects mentioned in the J. P. C. Report, some of which were not clearly defined. Hence, it was extremely difficult to assess the precise effect and scope of these subjects.

The *Chief of Sangli* affirmed that subject to the inclusion of essential conditions and provisions of guarantees, the Princes had no hesitation in joining the Federation.

The *Raja of Korea*, in an extempore speech, said that if the States were to join the Federation, their minimum safeguards must be conceded. He was sorry that several important fundamental conditions had not yet been met. The problem should be, however, approached in a spirit of mutual goodwill and accommodation. At the same time, the claims of individual States must be decided, so that the path of Federation may be rendered smooth.

The *Maharaja of Bikaner* said that subject to essential conditions forthcoming and certain necessary adjustments it would be found that Rulers of bigger States would be only too glad to come into the Federation. His Highness added : "I have also no doubt in my own mind that whether with us or a little time afterwards, given such favourable conditions, the majority of other States would equally gladly follow us."

His Highness wanted legal differentiation between the functions of the Viceroy and of the Governor-General and wanted also that particulars relating to the Treaties of accession and Instrument of Instructions to the Viceroy to be made available to the Princes. His Highness claimed for the Princes Order, certain measure of statesmanship and therefore hoped that they would refuse to be stampeded into an ill-considered or hasty decision.

Proceeding, the Maharaja of Bikaner associated himself with the views of Sir Austen Chamberlain that it was in the interests of rulers, their dynasties and States to join the Federation. His Highness then referred to the "astonishing allegations made in the House of Commons by the diehard group, some of whom again repeated in certain London newspapers, to the effect that bribes, threats and intimidation were held out by the British Government in England and India to coax, cajole and coerce Indian Princes to enter the Federation." His Highness remarked, "They are as sorry a compliment to the Ruling Princes in India as they are unfair and unjust to the Viceroy, His Majesty's Government and the Government of India. Such wild statements and charges can only result in completely exposing their authors to the lameness of their cause and the tactics adopted by them."

The speaker also referred to the allegation made by one Member of Parliament that before he reached India, certain Princes had been warned that it would be unwise to invite him and his colleagues to stay with them. His Highness declared that at no time did he receive such a warning or suggestion from the Viceroy or anyone else in England or India. The views of Princes were not likely to be swayed by all the horrors of Federation that were being depicted or by their attempts to make their flesh creep by various suggestions and efforts to influence the Princes into playing into their hands. On behalf of himself and other Princes, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner most emphatically contradicted these allegations. The Princes deeply resented the unworthy charges levelled against the Viceroy, so universally respected and popular among Princes, who had done his best to be fair to all concerned and to be just in all his dealings.

The resolution was unanimously passed. The Chamber then adjourned.

## Second Day—New Delhi—23rd. March 1935

The Chamber of Princes met to-day, the Viceroy presiding.

The Chamber passed a vote of thanks to the Chancellor for the work of the past two years and thanked Sir Manubhai Mehta, Sir Liaqat Khan and Sir Prabhashankar Pattani for their work as their representatives at the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

The Chamber adopted the recommendations of the standing committee regarding radio broadcasting and the construction of dams in Indian States.

### ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS TO STANDING COMMITTEE

The Chamber then proceeded with the election of office-bearers. The Viceroy informed the Chamber that both the Maharaj of Cutch and the Maharaja of Jaipur had decided that they did not wish to stand for any office or membership of the committee. The Chamber held the election by ballot and elected the Maharaja of

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# The Princes and Federation

## Secretary of State's Reply to Princes' Memorandum

The text of the White Paper presented by the Secretary of State to Parliament was released for publication in India on the **18th. March 1935**. It includes the following documents : (1) An introductory note by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India. (2) Sir Akbar Hydari's letter to Sir Bertrand Glancy of Feb. 21 containing the report of the committee of ministers, (3) the resolution passed by the Princes on Feb. 26. (4) the letter from their Highnesses the Maharaja of Patiala, the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Bikaner dated Feb. 27, (5) a note enclosed with (4), (6) the telegraphic despatch from the Secretary of State to the Government of India dated March 14, (7) the memorandum attached to no (6), (8) the provincial draft of Instrument of Accession.

The text of the Instrument of Accession runs as follows :—

Whereas proposals for the establishment of Indian federation comprising of such Indian States as may accede thereto and provinces of British India constituted as autonomous provinces have been discussed between the representatives of his Majesty's Government of Parliament of the United Kingdom of British India and of the Princes and rulers of Indian States ; and whereas a constitution for federation has been approved by Parliament and embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 but it is by that Act provided that the federation shall not be established until such date as his Majesty may by proclamation declare ; and whereas the Act cannot apply to any of the territories of A B save with his consent and concurrence : and whereas A B in the exercise of sovereignty in and over X in him vested is desirous of acceding to the said federation ; (1) now therefore A B hereby declares that subject to his Majesty's assent he accedes to federation and subject always to the terms of this Instrument declares his acceptance of the provisions of the said Act as applicable to his State and to his subjects with the intent that his Majesty the King, the Governor-General of India, the Federal Legislature, the Federal Court and any other federal authority established for the purposes of federation may exercise in relation to his State and to his subjects such functions as may be vested in them by or under the said Act in so far as the exercise therefore is not inconsistent with any of the provisions of this Instrument.

(2) And A B hereby declares that he accepts the matters specified in the first schedule of this Instrument as matters with respect to which the Federal Legislature shall have power to make laws in relation to his State and to his subjects but subject in each case to the conditions and limitations, if any, set out in the said schedule.

(3) And A B hereby declares that he assumes the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to the provision of the said Act within the territories of his State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this Instrument.

(4) And A B hereby declares that the privileges and immunities as defined in part VII of the said Act which are enjoyed by his State are those specified in the third schedule to this Instrument, that the annual values thereof so far as they are not fluctuating or uncertain are those specified in the said schedule and that he agrees that the values to be attributed to such of them as are fluctuating or uncertain in value shall be determined from time to time in accordance with the provisions of that schedule.

(5) And A B agrees that this Instrument shall be binding on him as from the date on which his Majesty signifies his acceptance thereof provided that if the said Federation is not established before the.....day.....193—this Instrument shall on that day become null and void for all purposes whatsoever.

(7) And A B hereby declares that save as otherwise expressly provided in this Instrument he reserves sovereignty in and over.....in him vested.

(8) And A B hereby declares that he makes these declarations for himself, his heirs and successors and that accordingly any reference in this Instrument to A B is to be construed as including a reference to his heirs and successors.

## SCHEDULES

**Note.—**The following article is intended for inclusion in the Instrument only in the case of states in respect of which provision is made in the Instrument for agreement as contemplated in clause 124 of the Bill :—

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the Joint Select Committee's report which in so far as the princes are concerned followed substantially the scheme of the White Paper which itself was based on conclusions of the Round Table Conference. There has been no departure from the principle then agreed upon.

Thirdly, the range of difference is further narrowed by the fact that his Majesty's Government has, on examination of the prince's note been able to suggest modifications in presentation of certain details of the Bill which, if accepted by Parliament, should go far without any sacrifice of essential principles of the Joint Select Committee's report to meet the difficulties which the princes have felt in respect to them.

There remains the problem of the precise manner in which the States are to accede to the federation—a problem which arises mainly in connection with clause (6) of the Bill and form of Instrument of Accession. This is in itself a difficult problem if only on account of its novelty and of its far-reaching consequences. But the analysis of the problem in that part of memorandum which deals with clause (6) will show that the point of view of the princes and of the Bill are not as may have been assumed inconsistent. The problem, indeed, is less one of opposing political outlook than of drafting technique. The desiderata of his Majesty's Government and of the princes are not irreconcilable though the problem remains of bringing them together in terms of a statutory document. I am confident, however, that the discussions between legal representatives of States and parliamentary draftsmen to which princes have now agreed will commend themselves alike to States and to Parliament. A careful consideration of documents now available has confirmed the view which I have already expressed that there is no reason for Parliament to delay further the consideration of the Bill pending conclusions on points with which I have dealt in the memorandum.

I shall as opportunity arises in discussion of any subsequent clause which may be affected either propose amendments, or explain to the House the direction in which his Majesty's Government intend to suggest modifications. If it should subsequently appear necessary to put before the House changes in some of the earlier clauses approved by it, the most appropriate method of doing so will have to be considered. But I would emphasise here that our task at the moment is to frame a constitution for India in such a form as may in the judgment of Parliament seem best suited to her needs. In doing so it is our duty to see that while preserving the substance of what in our opinion is essential to constitution the forms of the act shall offer no unnecessary difficulties to States when time comes for them to take their decision regarding the accession.

#### Secretary of State's Despatch

*The following is the telegraphic despatch from his Majesty's Secretary of State for India to the Government of India dated March 14, 1935 :—*

‘I have received from your Excellency's Government :

(1) On March 1, 1935 a copy of the letter from Sir Akbar Hydari to Sir Bertrand Glancy dated Feb. 21, communicating the result of the deliberations of the committee of States' ministers on the Government of India Bill (telegraphic summary of which was received by me on Feb. 22, 1935).

(2) On Feb. 26, the resolution passed by the meeting of States' rulers and representatives held at Bombay to consider the report of their ministers committee in which they state their views that in many respects the Bill and the Instrument of Accession depart from agreements arrived at during the meetings of representatives of States with members of his Majesty's Government and that they regret to note that the Bill and Instrument of Accession do not secure those vital interests and fundamental requisites of States on which they have throughout laid great emphasis.’ They add that ‘in their present form and without satisfactory modification and alteration on fundamental points the Bill and the Instrument of Accession cannot be regarded as acceptable to Indian States.’

(3) On March 5, a letter dated Feb. 27 from their Highnesses the Maharaja of Patiala, the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Bikaner with an accompanying note in which they had asked your Excellency's Government and his Majesty's Government to consider as a true reproduction of the gist of opinions held by the princes' meeting at Bombay. There have appeared in the press accounts of speeches made at that meeting and I understand that now they have been transmitted to your Excellency. I assume, however, that the above-mentioned documents are those which the rulers

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*The following is the telegraphic despatch from his Majesty's Secretary of State for India to the Government of India dated March 14, 1935 :—*

‘I have received from your Excellency's Government :

(1) On March 1, 1935 a copy of the letter from Sir Akbar Hydari to Sir Bertrand Glancy dated Feb. 21, communicating the result of the deliberations of the committee of States' ministers on the Government of India Bill (telegraphic summary of which was received by me on Feb. 22, 1935).

(2) On Feb. 26, the resolution passed by the meeting of States' rulers and representatives held at Bombay to consider the report of their ministers committee in which they state their views that in many respects the Bill and the Instrument of Accession depart from agreements arrived at during the meetings of representatives of States with members of his Majesty's Government and that they regret to note that the Bill and Instrument of Accession do not secure those vital interests and fundamental requisites of States on which they have throughout laid great emphasis.’ They add that ‘in their present form and without satisfactory modification and alteration on fundamental points the Bill and the Instrument of Accession cannot be regarded as acceptable to Indian States.’

(3) On March 5, a letter dated Feb. 27 from their Highnesses the Maharaja of Patiala, the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Bikaner with an accompanying note in which they had asked your Excellency's Government and his Majesty's Government to consider as a true reproduction of the gist of opinions held by the princes' meeting at Bombay. There have appeared in the press accounts of speeches made at that meeting and I understand that now they have been transmitted to your Excellency. I assume, however, that the above-mentioned documents are those which the rulers

The accompanying memorandum while designed to remove any such misunderstanding as that to which I have referred in para (2) of the despatch contains also a note in each clause to which reference has been made in their Highnesses' letter of Feb. 27 and in the report of the committee of the ministers. It will, I hope, suffice to meet many of the difficulties to which they have given expression and materially to borrow the field of differences. I am glad their Highnesses have now arranged that their lawyers should meet Parliamentary draftsmen in order to explore those points which arise from the form of drafting adopted. This will further facilitate discussions and the disposal of any point which may remain at issue and I associate myself with the expression of their Highnesses' confidence that difficulties which they have felt in regard to the form of the Bill can be satisfactorily adjusted. I am arranging to present these documents to Parliament and shall be glad if you will arrange for their publication in India.

#### Princes' Letter to Viceroy

*The following is the text of the letter to the Viceroy from the Maharaja of Patiala, the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Bikaner :—*

The Chancellor has already communicated to your Excellency the resolution unanimously passed by the meeting of the princes and representatives of States held at Bombay at his invitation and we now take the earliest opportunity of sending you the criticism of certain fundamental proposals of the Government of India Bill and draft Instrument of Accession. While forwarding these views we should like at the very outset to point out that it is only now after the publication of the Bill that we have been able during the brief time at our disposal to examine the scheme.

We considered the provisions of the Bill and the Instrument of Accessions and feel that the various resolutions of the Chamber of Princes and informal meeting of the Princes held from time to time have not so far received that attention of his Majesty's Government which they deserved. We should strongly urge that to achieve satisfactory results this representation and others that may follow from us and from the ministers' committee may be given due weight and full consideration. We would, therefore, request your Excellency to be so kind as to forward to his Majesty's Government in full the suggestion contained in this joint letter which should form the basis of further negotiations in this connection. We should like to emphasise that the points contained in this letter are true reproduction of the gist of opinion held by the princes' meeting at Bombay and they should be treated as such by the Government of India and his Majesty's Government. We feel that unless and until we secure full agreement of his Majesty's Government to points herein raised it will be difficult for a very large number of princes at any rate to accept the federal scheme. Most of the points mentioned in our letter are of a fundamental character and the success of our further negotiations between his Majesty's Government and the princes in relation to the scheme of federation will, we believe, entirely depend upon the extent to which his Majesty's Government will be prepared to accept the proposals of States contained herein. The ministers' committee has been asked to continue further the examination of the Bill and subject to confirmation by the princes to keep the Government of India and his Majesty's Government fully informed of their criticism and their findings so as to eliminate all chances of unnecessary delay in placing our observations and criticisms before his Majesty's Government. The princes earnestly hope that they will not be rushed into taking decisions because the problems now before them in final form are of vital importance and it is not possible to over-emphasise extremely the momentous nature of decisions of States in respect of such matter. We confidently rely on your Excellency's full support in this matter and will be prepared, should your Excellency so desire, to meet your Excellency at Delhi or elsewhere for the purpose of further explaining in person to you difficulties which have arisen and which have made it impossible for the Hydari committee and the princes and their ministers present in Bombay to advise States in general to accept the federal scheme in its present form.

We should like to make it clear beyond doubt that there has never been any intention on our part to resile from the position we had all along taken. It has throughout been our contention and we have never departed from the position that acceptance of the federal scheme by us will depend entirely upon the inclusion in the scheme of reforms of certain fundamental conditions and essential safeguards which we consider necessary for unimpaired continuation of our sovereignty and autonomy within our States. The schemes before us has failed in many instances to satisfy us in that respect and we have wasted no time in informing his Majesty's Government

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2. *Clauses 119 and 279.* The benefit of these clauses should be extended to the subjects of Indian States.

3. *Clause 132.* There is no valid reason to deprive the party dissatisfied with the opinion of the tribunal of his right to appeal to the Privy Council. He may not have elected to entrust his case to the *ad hoc* judicial tribunal.

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5. *Clause 169:*—Retrocession of jurisdiction over railway lands should precede accession to federation and prevent the descent by way of succession of such jurisdiction from the Governor-General in Council to the Federal Government.

6. *Schedule 1, part II:* There ought to be no power to change the proposed allocation of seats without some well defined cause like the increase in population or increase in salutes of guns.

#### Note attached to Princes' Letter

#### The following is the extract from the princes' note accompanying their letter to the Viceroy :—

The special conference of the princes and ministers held at Bombay during this week have unanimously recorded their definite opinion that in their present form and without satisfactory modifications and alterations with regard to the fundamental points, the provision of the constitution bill and the Instrument of Accession cannot be acceptable to Indian States. It is necessary once again to convey to his Majesty's Government those modifications and alterations which would obviously include also additions and supplying of omissions and which the princes have been regarding from the very outset to be vital and fundamental.

In this connection it has been all along understood and had been so agreed at the meeting of the committee appointed under the presidency of Lord Halifax at the third Round Table Conference that the federation would derive its powers in part from the powers which the 'rulers of the States would agree for the purpose of the federation only to transfer to this Majesty the King for exercise by the Federal Government and legislature and other federal organs. In order to effect the transfer of these powers an agreement would require to be made by each State individually with the Crown which might be termed an Instrument of Accession.

These instruments which are further described in the proceedings of the conference to be treaties were intended to be mutual agreements necessarily bilateral in effect since they were meant to provide also for their acceptance by the Crown upon the terms and subject to the conditions expressed therein. These treaties of accession as we want them to be designated were meant to be governed by the ordinary principles of contract and were to be construed in accordance with the generally recognised rules of constitutional law. The princes have never agreed to accept any act of the British Parliament as binding on them and do prince will as contemplated by clause 6 (a) of the proposed bill declare that he accepts this act as applicable to his State and to his subjects. It was only to avoid a verbatim reproduction in the treaties of accessions themselves of the wording of each clause of the act which related directly or indirectly to the States that any reference to the act was thought permissible in the treaty of accession.

The procedure regarding the treaty of accession that comended itself to Lord Halifax's committee was to execute an agreement whereby the states would convey to the Crown a transfer of the necessary powers and jurisdiction in accordance with the specific provisions of the act. This procedure would enable respectively the Governor-General of the federation and the other federal organs established for the purpose of carrying out of the constitution to exercise in relation to the States and the subjects of their rules but only in accordance with the constitution the powers which the rulers had agreed to transfer.

It is obvious that this conformity to the constitution was suggested in order to avoid the reproduction of the wording of each clause in the Act relating to the States in the document, only a labour saving device. The princes have all along looked upon these treaties of accession as the really operative instruments binding them to the federal constitution and not the constitution act which as an Act of Parliament they cannot be expected to accept as binding on them or as applicable to their States and their subjects. With regard to the Indian States the structure of the bill has to be in conformity with the provisions of their treaties of accession, not

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from clause 2, page 1, lines 14 and 15. These words are descriptive and have in themselves no operative effect but while his Majesty's Government have no objection to their omission since the essential purport of the clause would not be altered, they must make it clear that they do not thereby accept the claim which appears to be implied in paragraph No. 10 of the note above referred to that the Crown's present relations with the States have a purely contractual basis.

(II) It is further suggested that on page 1 lines 18 and 19 the words 'or as may be otherwise directed by his Majesty' should be omitted. The omission of these words would have the result of depriving his Majesty of the right to delegate certain prerogative powers, e.g., the grant of honours or exercise of prerogative of pardon and for that reason the amendment could not be accepted in the form suggested. It is understood, however, that the object of the suggestion is to avoid theoretical possibility that his Majesty might delegate a part of the powers of the Crown in relation to what is usually known as paramountcy field to some authority other than his Majesty's representative for whose appointment provision is made in clause 3, sub-clause (3) of the bill. It is not intended that special powers in relation to the state should, if not exercised by his Majesty, be delegated to any other authority than the Viceroy as the Crown's representative and an amendment to make this plain will be considered.

Clause 6 (1). In the report of the ministers it is claimed that accession should be by acceptance of specified provisions of the act and not by acceptance of the act as a whole with such limitations and conditions as may be made in the Instrument of Accession. This position is further enlarged in paragraphs 2, 4, and 14 of the note to their Highness' letter where it is claimed that Instruments of Accession (which should in their view be described as treaties of accession) are only operative instruments, that the act should be in conformity with the treaties of accession and not that the treaties should be in conformity with the act which would in case of conflict be overridden by them and further that the treaties should be regarded as bilateral in character creating reciprocal obligation on the part of the Crown to safeguard the remaining power and jurisdiction of the ruler within his State and over his subjects'.

(II) It is necessary, therefore, to state the grounds on which clause (6) has been given its present form for these will in the opinion of his Majesty's Government afford a sufficient answer to the claims in the preceding summary of the position taken up by their Highnesses' note. A federation is a union of a number of political communities for certain common purposes and every such union necessarily involves that the sum of the powers of each federating community shall with its assent, thereafter, be exercised by a central authority or authorities on behalf of all. It is this organic connection between each of them and the central authority which distinguishes a federation from a mere alliance or confederacy. His Majesty's Government have never contemplated a federation of India only as an association in which British India on the one hand and Indian States on the other would be no more than act in concert on matters of common concern. From an early stage discussions have centred on the creation of an organic union between the two with a federal Government and a legislature exercising on behalf of both the powers vested in them for that purpose.

(III). In ordinary circumstances where communities desire to federate they determine by mutual negotiation the form of federal constitution which they desire to establish and if they are independent States they themselves bring federation into existence as soon as an agreement is reached. If they have been autonomous communities subject to British Crown they have sought the sanction of an act of Parliament which alone could make the federal constitution a legal reality throughout the whole area of the new federation. The circumstances of India demand a different procedure. Some of the communities proposed to be included in the new federation are not yet autonomous and cannot federate unless enabled to do so by an act of Parliament. Others are neither in British territory nor subject to the authority of Parliament nor could the provinces of British India and Indian States meet together and agree upon a federal constitution. The provinces had not the legal power to do so and the variety and number of Indian States would, apart from other considerations for practical reasons, have precluded it.

(IV). It appears to his Majesty's Government that a federation of India can be brought into existence in one way only. They have ascertained as far as they were able the opinion both of British India and of the Indian States and have formed with the guidance of the Joint Select Committee their own judgment on problems involved and they have now themselves framed a constitution and have embodied it in a bill which they have invited Parliament to pass into law. The Government of India Bill, if it becomes an act, will be binding upon British India because British India is subject

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that when a ruler by his Instrument of Accession recognises certain specified matters as federal, the Crown by accepting the accession implicitly assents to a modification in respect of those matters of its former relations with States and renounces in favour of federation any rights, authority or jurisdiction which it may hitherto have exercised in connection with them. It was in this sense that his Majesty's Government understood the terms used at the meeting presided over by Lord Halifax during the third Round Table Conference to which their Highnesses refer but subject to this all Crown's rights and obligations in relation to States remain unaffected.

His Majesty's Government have assumed that this was not open to argument but in any event they are clear that the matter is not one which could properly be dealt with in a document of which the purpose is to regulate the relations of acceding States with federation.

His Majesty's Government understand that the States feel apprehensive as regards the effect of their acceptance of legislative and executive authority of the federation in certain matters upon their relations with the Crown in other matters and these apprehensions have no doubt also influenced their Highnesses in the claim made in paragraph 9 of their note that the bill should reproduce in some form the provisions of section 132 of the existing Government of India Act, 1858 where it was obviously required by reason of transfer which that Act effected of all rights and obligations of the East India Company to the Crown and it was only re-enacted in the Government of India Act of 1915 because that act consolidated the existing statutes relating to India and not because it was thought necessary to reaffirm the obligations which the crown had already assumed. The Crown's engagements towards Indian rulers need no reaffirmation by Parliament but his Majesty's Government are prepared if the rulers so desire to consider the insertion in this bill of a provision to the effect that nothing in the act will affect the engagements of the Crown outside the federal sphere if in addition some states desire a reaffirmation of those engagements towards them in so far as they relate to matters outside the federal sphere. This would as on other occasions more appropriately take some extra statutory form and his Majesty's Government will consider how best a satisfactory assurance can be given to those so desiring it. Such an assurance would perhaps most conveniently be given at the time when the execution of the Instrument of Accession are accepted by his Majesty.

## SECRETARY OF STATE'S STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT

In the House of Commons, on the 26th February 1935, Mr. Churchill moved adjournment in order to call attention to the resolution on the Government's India Bill passed at a meeting of the Princes at Bombay on the 25th February which, Mr. Churchill contended, constituted a definite rejection of Federation.

*Sir Samuel Hoare*, replying, welcomed the opportunity of removing misunderstandings. He said that he believed there were only points of detail between the Princes and the Government.

Having remarked that he must not be tempted into the wider fields explored by Mr. Churchill, Sir Samuel Hoare said: 'I welcome the opportunity of removing a number of misunderstandings which are evidently also in the mind of Mr. Churchill, misunderstandings possibly connected with the speech I made during the Committee stage last week, and misunderstandings that seem to be in the minds of many Princes and their ministers'. I suppose that it is natural that in questions of this kind these misunderstandings should arise. We are attempting to deal with one of the most complex questions that has ever faced any assembly and we are attempting to deal with that with the principals 6,000 miles apart. Whilst, therefore, I regret the fact that misunderstandings do and must arise, I cannot say that I am surprised.'

*Sir Samuel* said: 'Mr. Churchill has quoted some passages in the resolution passed yesterday by certain of Indian Princes. I think that in order that the House have before them the whole position, I had better to read the whole resolution.' Sir Samuel Hoare then read the resolution and continued: 'When I read that resolution last night, it came as a great surprise. Only three or four days ago upon the committee stage of the Bill when it was proposed that clauses 6 and 7 should be postponed I said what at the time was the case that I was under the impression that there were only points of detail at issue between the States and ourselves, and that there was no reason why these two clauses should be postponed. I believe I shall show that that

that when a ruler by his Instrument of Accession recognises certain specified matters as federal, the Crown by accepting the accession implicitly assents to a modification in respect of those matters of its former relations with States and renounces in favour of federation any rights, authority or jurisdiction which it may hitherto have exercised in connection with them. It was in this sense that his Majesty's Government understood the terms used at the meeting presided over by Lord Halifax during the third Round Table Conference to which their Highnesses refer but subject to this all Crown's rights and obligations in relation to States remain unaffected.

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tion by his state in the federal organism. On the other hand, it has always been the States' intention which we, of course, on our side have always freely admitted, that the application of this Act to any Federated State shall be governed in effect by the rulers' Instrument of Accession, that is to say, it is for the ruler and the ruler alone to determine, subject, of course, to the acceptance of his accession by the Crown, the extent of the field over which the federal authorities are to operate in his State.

Clause 6 was designed to make this position clear. The amendments, standing in my name and which I hope to move in the course of our next discussions, are intended not to make any substantial change in the clause as drafted, but make its intention still clearer, and I am confident that a closer examination by the Princes of the clause, which, as I propose it, should be amended, will show them that it goes much further than they suppose, towards meeting their difficulties. The fact will become clear, when I actually move these amendments. I understand and draw particular attention to this point that the main difficulty, which the Princes feel about this clause, is the obligation which it imposes on them to accept the Act as a whole.

"They feel this difficulty despite the fact that this acceptance is immediately followed in paragraph (b) in the first sub-clause by a provision for freedom of choice on the part of a ruler as to the subjects, which he shall accept as federal, or in other words, as describing the field over which the Act shall operate in his State and further freedom to make conditions as to his acceptance of any of those subjects. The intention of the clause was that such conditions would be applicable not only to legislative powers as regards any particular matter of federal legislation in its relation to States but correspondingly to the executive authority of the Federal Government in relation to the same matter. My amendments to this clause are in part designed to make this interpretation perfectly clear.

"Later I shall move another amendment to clause 8 with the same object. I understand that the form, the States would like this clause to take, is a provision whereby they would accept such of the provisions to the Act as they may expressly specify in the Instruments of Accession. There are obvious difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the suggestion on these lines, but the result may well be in theory at all events that every ruler to accede to the Federation, would select different provisions of the Act as a basis of the constitution for his State, with the result that we might have a municipality of constitutions operating in different parts of India as a result of this Bill. I am quite sure that this is not the intention of the Princes. Their fear is—it is the natural fear—that the acceptance of all the provisions of the Act, even subject to the qualification to which I have referred, might have consequences in their States which on the present examination they cannot foresee, and which might lead to results in the way of diminution of their sovereignty, which neither they nor the Government have ever contemplated. I wish to remove the fear. On the one hand it is impossible to contemplate a position in which it will be open to every acceding state to select for itself the provisions of the Act to apply to that State. On the other hand, I am quite prepared to consider sympathetically and to bring before the House any representation which the Princes may think right to make with reference to any particular one of the latter clauses of the bill in which they anticipate disadvantages of the kind to which I have referred".

"Let me put what I have said, into a more concrete form. The Government's proposal is that they should accept the whole Act and that in the Instruments of Accession the Princes shall set out the subject for which the Act is accepted making it clear, firstly that the Act does not touch any other subject, and secondly that the Act does not detract from the Princes' sovereignty in any other respect. The Princes are nervous, because they are afraid that at sometime in the future the Federal Government might as an unexpected result to some other clause in the Act and perhaps as a result of the decision of the Federal Court, encroach upon the field that the Princes have not actually surrendered. The Princes, therefore, say: "Let us not accept the whole Act. Let us set out in the Instruments of Accession only those points in the Act to which we actually accede. I do not think that the Princes have fully considered the implications of the proposals of that kind. The effect will be first of all to throw open to negotiations the whole Bill instead of throwing open to negotiations between the Government and the Princes certain specific points in the Bill. That in itself would prolong almost indefinitely the period of those negotiations, but there is a greater danger inherent in a proposal of this kind. It is this. If it is accepted that Parliament would not know in the least what kind of Federation it is setting up. (Cheers). The question will be left in the air for subsequent negotiations in the whole field between the British Government and scores of Indian Princes. I am quite

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defining legislative power and clause 147 which describes the relation between the Federation Government and the States, and certain financial clauses. I must however that any of the points raised on these clauses are matters on which permanent difference can be apprehended.'

*Mr. Isaac Foot* intervened and said that Sir Samuel Hoare had been aptering from certain representation he had received in respect of certain clauses. When he did so, asked Mr. Isaac Foot, 'when those representations were made and whether when the Princes met they knew of the amendment to be submitted to the House?'

*Sir Samuel Hoare* replied: "The first time I heard these criticisms was certainly when I received a telegram about the meeting of ministers. I have of course more than this comparatively brief telegram, setting out the point to which I have referred. I will undertake as soon as I receive these criticisms in detail to put them in my possession thereof, but I think that I have said sufficient to day to satisfy the House that as far as I can judge, none of them seems to be a question of principle and all of them seem to be questions of detail that can be very well, and in due course, easily adjusted.

'Let me, in conclusion, say with great diffidence a word of advice to the House. I would not venture to give a word of advice, but for the fact that we have had to do for the four years past, I have been dealing in earnest with Indian political problems. (Cheers.) The House is dealing with a question the nature of which is unique. At every point there are problems of immense importance and at every chapter of the Bill, there are angles from which it can be attacked. It is very easy, from both sides. There never was a Bill in which there could not be a point of criticism, for the opposition, to exploit the vulnerable point. It is very easy to magnify the vulnerable points and very easy to magnify the obstacles in our way which are not sufficiently great in themselves. (Cheers.) I hope that the House will understand that this is a Bill of unique character and that whilst there is no reason for us to be afraid of this Bill we should not make up our minds of differences in the conduct of it. That is itself a task of immense responsibility. It has in fact I think been a task of drafting a Bill upon the lines of the report of the Select Committee. This is a task of responsibility not of the Ministers, but of a great majority of the House. That being so, I hope, we will avoid the temptation to exaggerate the difficulties which from time to time arise. I hope that at all costs we shall attempt to magnify rather than magnify them. There will be many perplexing moments in the course of the discussions when there will be ample opportunity for either of the two sides to get into a difficult situation. I hope that we will avoid that temptation and also to take the right action that we are not going to be ruined. (Cheers) by the slavish adherence to a character to which we have just listened, but are now to prove ourselves wrong, realizing that the responsibility is the responsibility upon the shoulders of the House, and that whilst we are most anxious to listen to Indian opinion at every point, we have opportunity and are most desirous to give the fullest possible account of what the responsibility is with us and the need is for us to point out as far as possible the way we believe best for India, this country and the empire.'

'That being so, I hope that when we dispense of the matter we will go over the discussion of the Bill, clause by clause. I believe that the points which have been raised by the Princes. If we find that we cannot meet them I will be prepared to give the House information. (Cheers.)

*Mr. Morgan James* (Lab) said that the Labourites were not in a position to raise the point. He urged the speakers to bring it up, as the Labourites would not agree to handing a blank cheque to the Princes.

*Sir Austen Chamberlain* did not suppose that there was any difficulty in this, who thought that the Princes were the only people that could be relied upon. He was unaware of the immensely greater responsibility the House had in this matter, more direct and personal to the people of British India than any other. The clauses which they were asked to propose dealt with the question of whether the Princes would join the Federation and surrender the power they had hitherto possessed. If the discussion dealt more with that particular point, and not with the union with British India, it was because it was the rule of the House that before they must be appropriate to the matter before it.

*Sir Austen Chamberlain* desired to say immediately that he had not been present in the House must have listened, as he, with sympathy and interest, to Sir Samuel Hoare's speech. (Cheers). He was glad to find that Sir Samuel Hoare's knowledge had formed the same view as himself of the Princes' attitude. He was unable to trace any point which was not present in the speech of Sir Samuel Hoare.

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"Let me, in conclusion, say with great diffidence a word of advice to the House. I would not venture to give a word of advice, but for the fact that we have had to do with for the four years past, I have been dealing, in connexion with India, with unique problems. (Cheers.) The House is dealing with a question the intricacy of which is unique. At every point there are problems of immense complexity and difficulty. In every chapter of the Bill, there are angles from which it can be set, and difficulties arising from both sides. There never was a Bill in which there could not be a temptation, for the opposition, to exploit the vulnerable point. It is very easy to magnify the vulnerable points and very easy to magnify the obstacles when they are not sufficiently great in themselves. (Cheers.) I hope that the House will realize that this is a Bill of unique character and that whilst there is no reason to suppose that the House itself a task of immense responsibility. It lies in front of the House to propose a Bill upon the lines of the report of the Select Committee. That is to say, not of responsibility not of the Ministers, but of a great majority of the House. That being so, I hope, we will avoid the temptation to exaggerate the difficulties which from time to time arise. I hope that at all costs we shall attempt to magnify rather than magnify them. There will be many perplexing incidents in the course of our discussions when there will be ample opportunity for criticism and attack on the difficult situation. I hope that we will avoid that temptation and always take the proper action that we are not going to be ruder. (Cheers.) by the character of the Bill, a character to which we have just listened, but are liable to get into difficulties, realizing that the responsibility is the responsibility upon the shoulders of the House, and that whilst we are most anxious to listen to Indian opinion at every possible opportunity and are most desirous to give the fullest possible account of the responsibility is with us and the need is for us to put on in every way that we can, the way we believe best for India, this country and the empire."

"That being so, I hope that when we dispose of this matter we shall go into a discussion of the Bill, clause by clause. I believe that we can meet the points raised by the Princes. If we find that we cannot meet them I shall be glad to give the House information. (Cheers.)

*Mr. Morgan James* (Lab) said that the Labourites were in full agreement in raising the point. He urged the speech of Sir Austen Chamberlain. The Labourites would not agree to handing a blank cheque to the Princes.

*Sir Austen Chamberlain* did not suppose that there was any difficulty in those who thought that the Princes were the only people to whom the power should be given, unaware of the immensely greater responsibility the House had. The power was more direct and personal to the people of British India than to the Princes. The clauses which they were asked to propose dealt with the conditions under which the Princes would join the Federation and surrender the power. They had nothing to do with joining. If the discussion dealt more with that particular point and less with the relations with British India, it was because it was the rule of all that the conditions under which they must be appropriate to the matter before it, otherwise

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# **EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN INDIA**

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# Educational Progress in India

## Introduction

The Educational Section quite fittingly receives a large share of attention in this Register. The Indian Problem, like all other problems, is at bottom the problem of Education in its widest sense, in its most intensive and extensive sense. We recommend the Education Addresses of the various Indian Universities and also the Resolutions of the various Educational Conferences, whether under the chairmanship or not, to the most serious notice and consideration of the Government and the public. We are encouraged to find that the Government of India are fully alive to their responsibilities. The creation of an institution of a Central Bureau of Education is a matter which has now wakened. But something more than mere wakening is required. They should be resourceful. But what are the resources? An efficient and organisation which, under the existing conditions, are not available. The cost of administration, military and civil, will be heavy. The Government and the country will be taxed. And there seems to be no end to the process. The future constitution will not change things very much for the better. There will be precious little left for the State to do in nation-building work for the "responsible" Ministers will be free to get out of it. Will they have recourse to taxation and increase of taxes? Can a "responsible" Government pretend to think that education and nation-building are the least part of their job, and that these are to be the care of the people themselves rather than of the State? We leave however the matter at that.

Whatever the present or the prospective Government may do for itself in a position to do or not to do in the sphere of nation-building, there is no gainsaying that we ourselves should hasten as far as we can to do whatever is humanly possible to move and improve matters. In these matters we must help ourselves so long as State help is denied us. We may be justly entitled to but niggardly forthcoming help. This help may, possibly, be effected without State help and initiative. Let us begin with the little that may be possible. And the little, as we may be sure, will gather momentum and urge which, State help or no, will make that little much. By its sheer momentum, it will seek State help in an adequate measure. For nothing worth doing starts from nothing.

Now, coming to the Addresses and Resolutions we find that they strike a common note. Of despair? No, dissatisfaction.

And there are good grounds for it. Indian Education must subject itself to and pass the following crucial tests -

- (a) It must create conditions under which Indian men and women can regain health, vigour and longevity. While the general longevity index in the country is alarmingly low, that of the Indian community is also far from reassuring. 90 per cent of our population live in the villages and must live in them. The education of Indian boys and girls should be devised with respect to the realities of life.

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villages of the country. The student should live in adjacent model villages of their own managed by their own panchayet. Thus train them from the beginning in the discharge of their civic duties and corporate responsibilities. And give this training in the midst of the real conditions. Their villages should be models of plain, healthy, and, so far possible, economically self-sufficient living. Institutions should not be kept alive by "doles" and spoon-feeding. Spoon-fed institutions will never turn out full-grown men and women. They should learn to fight and drive out malaia, tuberculosis etc. These colonies should serve as object-lessons to the villages and towns. Social service to be an integral part of the training.

(3) Girls should not be made "in the image" of the boys or *vice versa*. Their education should be laid upon reasonably different lines. More with reference to the home, requirements of social service, wife-hood and motherhood, and more in consonance with the best ideals of religion and morality.

(4) Men and women who go to foreign country to "complete" their education, should receive here, for, say, 3 years, a thorough grounding in the best ideas, methods and practices of their own home culture. There should be ashramas for this purpose, where they shall be given the natural "inoculation" to guard against the denationalising and deteriorating foreign "virus" inducing senseless, imbecile imitation. They should go out keeping in view the ideal of the great Swami Vivekananda. (*By P. N. Mukhopadhyaya*).

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## Educational Reconstruction in India

### Govt. of India Circular to Local Government

The Government of India addressed all local Governments and Administrations (including Aden) inviting their opinion on educational reconstruction, so that they be forwarded to the Inter-University Board as soon as possible. Mr. G. S. Bajpai Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands, Govt. of India in his letter issued from New Delhi on the 9th. February 1935 said :—

In recent years, notice has been given in the Indian Legislature of a number of resolutions expressing dissatisfaction with the present system of education in India and the desire that the Government of India should take early steps to render it 'more practical and useful'. For one reason or another, these resolutions have not been moved but even if they had been moved, the Government of India would have felt themselves precluded by their constitutional position from assuming more than an advisory responsibility with regard to matters which primarily concern Local Governments.

In forwarding the proceedings of the Third Conference of Indian Universities held at Delhi in March last, the Inter-University Board drew the attention of the Government of India in particular to the two following resolutions, which had been passed unanimously—After valuable and protracted discussion, "a practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in radical readjustment of the present system of schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education, either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. This will enable the universities to improve their standard of admission". In the second resolution, the Conference developed in greater detail their theme of school reconstruction and pointed to the necessity of dividing the school

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advanced literary or scientific studies or for vocational training in one form or another. The latter forms of training can only be successful if they are based on the sure foundation of general knowledge and attainment. Educational statistics indicate, however, that many pupils prolong unduly their literary studies and are thereby in danger of losing their bent for more practical pursuits. On this and other grounds, the proposals of the Universities Conference, which have been generally endorsed by the Government of the United Provinces, deserve serious consideration.

Though of course, subjects such as Manual training, Drawing, and Nature Study, should be developed in all secondary schools and though pupils of these schools should be encouraged to take part in practical pursuits, it is debatable whether the inclusion of vocational subjects along with literary subjects in the ordinary secondary schools and colleges is the best means of achieving the object, which the Universities Conference had in view. To be successful, vocational training requires somewhat expensive equipment and above all experienced and practical teaching. It seems obvious, therefore, that resources should not be dissipated but should, as far as possible, be concentrated in the institutions designed for the purpose. Moreover, there is the danger that haphazard intermingling of vocational and general study may defeat the very object, which it sets out to achieve. Pupils may be tempted by bait of somewhat superficial and desultory vocational training to prolong unnecessarily the literary studies and thereby to drift aimlessly into paths which are unsuitable to them. This danger should be avoided. It is on these grounds, among others, that the proposal of the Universities Conference that vocational training should ordinarily be provided in separate vocational institutions, also deserves attention. The Government of India realise that education by itself cannot create new industries and thereby increase opportunities of employment, but boys, who complete the shortened secondary course as proposed and subsequently benefit by the form of vocational training, would be more likely to be absorbed into industrial occupations and to make most of industrial opportunities than are many of those who now graduate or fail to graduate at a comparatively advanced age. In any case they could probably receive education, better adapted to their capabilities.

A feature of the school reconstruction as proposed by the Universities concerned and suggested by the Government of the United Provinces is that pupils would be relieved to some extent from the burden of frequent examinations. It is urged by some that these examinations will militate against the continuity of study. From an early age in life, Indian pupils are subjected every two years to the ordeal of public examination. After each interruption of his course, the pupil spends perhaps half of the first year in adopting himself to the new surroundings and perhaps half of the second year to cramming for the next examinations. On the other hand, it is contended that these examinations at any rate fulfil the purpose of keeping staffs and pupils up to the mark and discourage apathy. Whatever may be the view held on the value of examinations, the undoubted advantage in the tentative scheme proposed by the Government of the United Provinces would be that each examination will take place at the termination of a particular stage of education and will thereby test whether the pupils attained the objective of that stage. For this reason examinations would have a more clearly defined purpose than they now do.

The Government of India are confident that these proposals of the Universities Conference in particular will receive earnest consideration, which they undoubtedly deserve, especially as they were unanimously accepted by some of the most eminent and experienced educationists in India. The Government of India desire to take this opportunity of expressing their appreciation of the labours of the Conference and the valuable discussions which took place. They would be glad if the Madras Government, etc., after consulting such persons and authorities as they may consider advisable, would express their opinions in particular on the two resolutions referred to in this letter. On receipt of these opinions, the Government of India propose to forward them to the Inter-University Board in response to their request for information of the action taken by the Government of India on their reference and also to all Provincial Governments. By so doing, the Government of India hope that they may be of service in helping to co-ordinate educational discussions in matters which are of vital importance to the well-being of India.

advanced literary or scientific studies or for vocational training in one form or another. The latter forms of training can only be successful if they are based on the sure foundation of general knowledge and attainment. Educational statistics indicate, however, that many pupils prolong unduly their literary studies and are thereby in danger of losing their bent for more practical pursuits. On this and other grounds, the proposals of the Universities Conference, which have been generally endorsed by the Government of the United Provinces, deserve serious consideration.

Though of course, subjects such as Manual training, Drawing, and Nature Study, should be developed in all secondary schools and though pupils of these schools should be encouraged to take part in practical pursuits, it is debatable whether the inclusion of vocational subjects along with literary subjects in the ordinary secondary schools and colleges is the best means of achieving the object, which the Universities Conference had in view. To be successful, vocational training requires somewhat expensive equipment and above all experienced and practical teaching. It seems obvious, therefore, that resources should not be dissipated but should, as far as possible, be concentrated in the institutions designed for the purpose. Moreover, there is danger that haphazard intermingling of vocational and general study may defeat the very object, which it sets out to achieve. Pupils may be tempted by bait of somewhat superficial and desultory vocational training to prolong unnecessarily the literary studies and thereby to drift aimlessly into paths which are unsuitable to them. This danger should be avoided. It is on these grounds, among others, that the proposal of the Universities Conference that vocational training should ordinarily be provided in separate vocational institutions, also deserves attention. The Government of India realise that education by itself cannot create new industries and thereby increase opportunities of employment, but boys, who complete the shortened secondary course as proposed and subsequently benefit by the form of vocational training, would be more likely to be absorbed into industrial occupations and to make most of industrial opportunities than are many of those who now graduate or fail to graduate at a comparatively advanced age. In any case they could probably receive education, better adapted to their capabilities.

A feature of the school reconstruction as proposed by the Universities concerned and suggested by the Government of the United Provinces is that pupils would be relieved to some extent from the burden of frequent examinations. It is urged by some that these examinations will militate against the continuity of study. From an early age in life, Indian pupils are subjected every two years to the ordeal of public examination. After each interruption of his course, the pupil spends perhaps half of the first year in adopting himself to the new surroundings and perhaps half of the second year to cramming for the next examinations. On the other hand, it is contended that these examinations at any rate fulfil the purpose of keeping staffs and pupils up to the mark and discourage apathy. Whatever may be the view held on the value of examinations, the undoubted advantage in the tentative scheme proposed by the Government of the United Provinces would be that each examination will take place at the termination of a particular stage of education and will thereby test whether the pupils attained the objective of that stage. For this reason examinations would have a more clearly defined purpose than they now do.

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## PLACE OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The object of the middle vernacular school is, or should be, to supplement the primary school, to serve those pupils who do not care or are not able to go to English schools. The Middle English schools are however no more than preparatory to the High schools. The High schools again in their turn have two functions to perform, firstly to prepare those who intend to go for higher education in the University and secondly for the large number who do not or cannot go to the University to prove all round training of mind and character complete in itself. Unfortunately however this second object has been completely subordinated to the demands for getting passes in the Matriculation Examination.

## TENDENCIES IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

The most noticeable tendency in secondary education has been however for middle vernacular schools to increasingly disappear, sometimes with the introduction of English as an optional subject resulting in their ultimate conversion to Middle English schools but more generally perhaps with a decline in the demand for these institutions. Of the 349 Middle Vernacular schools for boys in 1916-1917, only 54 survived in 1932-33. The only relieving feature is that the average roll strength has increased. It is probable that with the greater importance now laid on vernacular and the inability of parents consequent on economic distress to put their children to more expensive institutions, these schools may continue to exist.

In the Middle English stage there has been an all-round improvement as the following figures will show—

## INDIAN Boys' Schools

	Number	Pupils
1926-27	1,616	142,684
1931-32	1,845	177,102

## INDIAN Girls' Schools

	Number	Pupils
1926-27	48	5856
1931-32	59	7009

Nearly 3 out of 4 boys in the highest middle class continue their studies in the High School. Majority of the girls however do not go beyond this stage and that explains why these schools still occupy the most prominent place in girls' education.

There is however considerable wastage from stage to stage an idea of which can be obtained from the table below—

## WASTAGE IN DIFFERENT STAGES

Boys in first middle class to those in last primary class	67 p. c.
Boys in first high class to those in last middle class	72 "
Boys passing the Matriculation to those in last high class	41 "
Boys in first college class to those passing the Matriculation	63 "

From the upper primary classes to the middle classes and from those to the high school classes there is a fairly steady flow of pupils. But only about 2 in 5 of the boys in the Matriculation Class actually pass the Matriculation. There is an enormous wastage at this point just as there is wastage in the lower primary classes. This wastage can only be stopped if boys who would not ordinarily proceed for the Matriculation Examination are encouraged to finish their general courses of study at the end of class VIII of a High School.

## MANAGEMENT &amp; CONTROL OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

There are three different types of management by Government, local bodies and private bodies. Of the schools under private management, some are aided from public funds and some are not. The percentage of Government aided and unaided high schools to total number of high schools is as follows :—

	Govt. and local bodies.	
1921-22	...	4.3
1926-27	...	4.1
1931-32	...	3.8
	Private	
	Aided	Unaided
1921-22	38.6	36.9
1926-27	48.4	47.5
1931-32	47.5	48.7

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which are often uncritical and proceed from one extreme to the other is that the needs, aptitude and capacity of the child and the feasible lines of educational advance are apt to be ignored and the schools run the risk of being pushed out of their proper lines of work. The problem is how to co-ordinate vocational with general education. For that the need seems to be to have technical schools to give technical education with a modification in the syllabus of general schools to provide for "educational handiwork" giving the necessary hand and eye training.

For agricultural education Government give an equipment grant of Rs. 550 for a garden measuring half acre and its 2,000 for a four measuring five acres. Teachers have been trained for giving this education and for the present 16 middle English schools will be financially developed into a special type of agricultural education schools, on condition that they are not converted into high schools.

The most outstanding reform has however been the introduction of vernacular as the medium of instruction and examination in all classes below class VII. In the top classes it is at present optional but University has definitely expressed itself in favour of the vernacular as the medium of instruction and examination generally.

#### SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR INDIAN BOYS

The total number of secondary schools for Indian boys fell during year 1932-33 from 2975 to 1966. There was however an increase in the number of high schools, the decrease being all in the number of middle English schools. The number of high schools was 1103 against 1076 in the previous year and that of middle English Schools 1809 against 1845 in the previous year. Middle Vernacular Schools on the other hand remained stationary at 54. Pupils reading in high schools rose by 7,560, while middle English and middle vernacular schools reported a loss of 3627 and 198 pupils respectively.

#### (a) FINANCE

Total expenditure on boy's secondary schools according to sources was as follows :—

	1926-27	Rs.	Proportion to total.
Provincial revenues		15,80,308	
Municipal Funds		27,791	17.9
District Funds		3,22,238	
Fees		70,72,943	65.9
Other sources		17,33,795	16.2
		1,07,37,075	
	1931-32	Rs.	Proportion to total.
Provincial revenues		17,94,440	
Municipal Funds		42,929	17.8
District Funds		3,34,786	
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Other sources		18,07,923	14.8
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	1932-33	Rs.	Proportion to total.
Provincial revenues		16,58,957	
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Fees		84,73,408	68.9
Other sources		17,75,889	14.5
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The shrinkage in expenditures in 1932-33 was mainly brought about by the enforcement of the emergency 10 per cent cut in almost all expenditure except that for Girls' Secondary Schools.

Total expenditure according to types of schools was as follows :—

	1926-27.	1931-32.	1932-33.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
High Schools	83,35,947	92,77,423	94,56,310
Middle English Schools	23,35,361	28,68,776	27,85,136
Middle Vernacular Schools	65,767	55,609	54,747

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The average number of pupils per high school in 1926-27 was only 238 in Bengal while it was 408 in Madras, and in the three upper classes, Bengal had 71 boys per school and Madras 138. The average number of pupils who pass the Matriculation from a high school is only 10. No school can be efficiently run on Rs. 521 or even Rs. 536 a month and hundreds of unaided schools are able to exist only because they have little or no equipment, employ the minimum staff and pay them a mere pittance. Those schools unfortunately tend to drag the others down to their level.

It has been suggested that Government schools should be deprovincialised and the savings allotted to private institutions. In 1931-32, the average expenditure on a Government schools was Rs. 2.228 per month. But this is no more than the general average of all schools in Bombay. Even a deprovincialised school should be efficient and if the average cost of these schools were reduced to the average amount spent on a school (not a Government School) in Madras the total ultimate saving would be about Rs. 3,17,000 sufficient to give each of the private schools about Rs. 25 a month, a sum inadequate for any useful purpose. To make all schools financially stable a sum of about Rs. 40 lakhs is necessary. Even with the deprovincialisation of all Government schools Government will not be able now or in the future to provide for all high schools in Bengal the financial basis for an efficient education. Improvement of secondary education in the province is indeed a problem which should engage the attention of all public-spirited men.

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## Physical Education in Bengal

The report on Physical Education in the Schools in Bengal issued in January 1935 states :—

In recent years it has been increasingly felt that greater attention should be paid to the physical fitness of the scholars than had been done in the past. The problem has been attacked from different angles.

Hygiene has been made a compulsory subject in the primary and secondary school curriculum except for the two top classes in the latter. At the same time medical examination of the health of the students has been arranged. Altogether 16,700 boys and 524 girls have been medically examined during the last few years on the initiative of the Public Health Department. Of the boys examined 23 per cent were found to be well nourished, 53 per cent fairly nourished and 24 per cent ill-nourished, of the total number examined 67 per cent were found to be suffering from bodily defects and 14.7 per cent to have eye troubles. In primary schools 26,292 pupils have been medically examined under the supervision of the District Health Officers. Of these 59 per cent were found to be defectives. In 1932-33, the Medical Board attached to the Students' Welfare Committee of the Calcutta University examined 2,743 students (including 500 recalled for special examination). A disquieting increase in the incidence of mal-nutrition was noted.

Since February 1933 the medical examinations of school children in Calcutta has been carried on by three part-time Medical Officers under the Education Department. Of the 5,000 boys examined in Calcutta High and Middle English Schools in 1933-34, 35 per cent were found to be under-nourished, 50 per cent defectives and 30 per cent with eye defects. Preparations are now almost complete for the establishment of a central clinic at which defective children who are in poverty may receive free treatment. Free spectacles are supplied to all deserving cases.

Physical training was made compulsory in all Government and aided schools in 1927. It was laid down that all classes should have physical exercise twice weekly during school hours and games one hour weekly after school hours. A few schools still avoid these provisions for want of an expert teacher, but the majority have effective schemes in operation. The syllabus of physical training (1930) was completely revised in 1933. Provision was made for the introduction of a large variety of interesting activities to replace the antiquated "drill" methods, such as, free-hand exercises, major games, small area games, gymnastics on apparatus, swimming and life-saving athletic sports, rowing and folk dancing. The syllabus leaves it to schools to select from this list the activities which the instructors are capable of teaching and which

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## PHYSICAL EDUCATION OF GIRLS

The physical education of girls has received close attention since 1926, Government are subsidising the Y. M. C. A. in return for the services of their physical directress. The latter conducts training classes for teachers, visits the schools in Calcutta regularly to assist teachers in their work, and tours to mufassil schools to give demonstration lessons and advice on the spot. Despite great difficulties definite progress has been made and rapid developments are expected in the near future.

## WELCOME CHANGE IN OUTLOOK

With the initiative taken by the Government in the development of physical education there has been a welcome change in the outlook of the people during the last five years. It is now more generally recognised that regular physical exercise helps in the production of vigorous mind as well as a vigorous body, and that success at examinations is useless if it leads to a weakly body and constant ill-health. The old objections so often brought forward by schools such as lack of space, cost of apparatus, difficulty of finding skilled organisers (and of paying them), prejudice due to convention of caste custom, fear of neglect of studies or of injury during games and many others are gradually disappearing. There is, however, much room for improvement yet. The response to notifications issued by School Medical Officers regarding defects of students is still inadequate. The majority of parents do not yet seem to realise that a boy with short sight, deafness, throat affectations or digestive troubles cannot benefit to the fullest extent from the teaching for which he is sent to school.

## All India Science Congress

**22nd. Session—Calcutta—2nd. to 5th. January 1935**

### Welcome Speech

Colour and pageantry marked the opening of the twenty-second session of the Indian Science Congress which function was performed by His Excellency Lord Willingdon at the Senate Hall, Calcutta on the 2nd. January 1935.

Welcoming their Excellencies and the members of the Congress *Mr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said :

"This is the fourth occasion that Calcutta has been chosen as the seat of the Congress. During the last twenty-five years India has made noteworthy progress in the domain of higher scientific study and research. On an occasion like this we cannot but recall with pride and pleasure that this has been achieved mainly through the efforts of Indian scholars who after assimilating the best that their own Universities could bestow, travelled abroad, equipped themselves with new knowledge and experience and came back to their motherland, trained for national service.

"In this great movement Calcutta has played her part with far-seeing vision and courage and has produced a band of capable and enthusiastic workers, who have by no means remained confined to their own University—scholars whose contributions in the different branches of science have elicited the admiration of eminent scientists in other and distant parts of the world.

"The splendid work which the Calcutta University has been fortunate enough to accomplish has been possible as much on account of the far-sighted policy initiated by *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee*, your first President, as through the munificence of two of our illustrious countrymen, *Sir Taraknath Palit* and *Sir Rashbehari Ghosh*, and later of the Kumar of Khaira.

"Outside the University the two institutions which have added most to Calcutta's fame and prestige are the Bose Institute and the Indian Science Association for the Cultivation of Science. Much valuable work has also been done in the several scientific departments under State and private control which have been adorned by officers renowned for their ability and attainments.

"If Calcutta was the pioneer, other provinces have not lagged behind and the presence here of this distinguished galaxy of talent from all parts of India bears ample testimony to the progress which has been already achieved.

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one place, can never achieve that synthesis of national service which must be the aim of, as indeed it is the sole justification for, an All-India organisation.

Though your activities thus extend throughout India and though they indubitably exercise a widespread and an expanding influence, the Viceroy has never yet been present at one of your meetings. I am confident that my friend and Joint Patron of this session of the Congress, His Excellency Sir John Anderson, will not grudge me the pleasure (which would otherwise have fallen to him) of opening the present session and of affording a practical demonstration of the keen interest which I and my Government take in your deliberations.

"I am even more glad that my presence here to-day coincides with what may be termed the "coming of age" of the Congress. In describing our present age as predominantly the age of science, the Viceroy said, "Every aspect of human activity bears testimony to this contention. Even literature has been enriched by the concepts and terminology of science. Economics and industry depend for progress, on its quickening force. Human life has been shorn of many terrors of disease by the light which scientific investigation has thrown on their causes and on the methods of their prevention and cure. The data of science have provided new and fascinating material for those brilliant minds whose speculations seek the inner meaning of the nature of life and the universe.

"India, the birth-place of philosophy, cannot but aspire to an active and honourable share in these movements, whether utilitarian or philosophic. But, as I have already suggested, India is a land of vast distances, and the isolation of scientific workers presents a grave disadvantage. It is, therefore, at least something that once a year, leaders in science have been enabled to meet together in order to exchange experiences and also to examine and discuss the several contributions which have been made by scientists in India to the common stock of scientific knowledge.

"I offer my sincere good wishes not only for the successful deliberations of the present session, but also for the future development of your Association which having completed twenty-one years of fruitful activity, now "comes of age". In the days that lie before us, India will need, more than ever before, your help and guidance.

It may be asked what part does Government play or propose to play in India's contribution to science. Members of the Congress will need no elaborate reminder of what the Government of India have done and are doing in this respect. Three scientific services, whose work has won world-wide recognition, owe their inception and existence to their initiative. I refer to the Geological, the Metrological and the Zoological Surveys of India. Further, the Medical Research Department of the Government of India and the Indian Research Fund Association, which is financed by them, have done much to alleviate human suffering in combating those fell diseases which are still so powerful and so destructive.

"In the promotion of agricultural research, on which the prosperity of our agricultural masses so vitally depends, they still take a useful share through the agency of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. The problems of India's forests, a great economic asset, also receive attention in the laboratories of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun.

"Again, a Bureau of Industrial Information and Research is in the process of formation, and only last month a Congress of Road Engineers met to devise ways and means of organising research in problems of road construction. In modern times, a country, without maps, is a "dark continent". The preparation of such maps has been accepted in India for many years past as an important function of Government; the topographical maps of this country, which the Survey of India produce, bear comparison with those of any other country.

"I hasten to add that we shall continue to render assistance in the directions to such extent as our resources permit. Nor is my account in any sense exhaustive of the share of the State in scientific research. Under our present constitutional structure, responsibility for many branches of scientific activity, as, for example, in medicine, industry and agriculture, rests, within their own territorial limits, with Provincial Governments. I have not touched upon their achievements owing to limitations of time as well as of information.

"But, Ladies and Gentlemen, Government can be only a single factor in what is a nation-wide undertaking. Scientific research demands the sympathetic interest and the effective support of all who have India's welfare at heart, of Governments, Central and provincial, of universities, which must remain the principal homes of fundamental research; of pioneers of industrial development; of landed magnates, and last, but not

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Dr. Hutton next emphasised the quite exceptional opportunities afforded by India for anthropological studies. Among other matters he referred to recent discoveries in fresh cultural links between the Khasis and Syntongs of Assam and the Far East, and to recent work on the butterflies of Malaya as pointing to the comparatively late date of land subsistence in Indonesia. He went on to urge detailed studies of the physical anthropology of Indian castes and tribes through the co-efficient of racial likeness, used for instance by Dr. Guha in the 1934 Census, and through the study of blood groups. He also advocated a study of genetic questions for which caste system offers exceptional opportunities. In prehistoric archaeology he wished to see the explorations of the Indus valley extended to the valleys of the Jumna and Ganges, while in linguistics there is a very pressing need for a survey of Indian languages south of the Godavari river. In particular it was necessary to know whether any trace of Munda languages was to be found in Southern India.

"Another branch of research likely to yield very important results, if applied comparatively in India, was the psychology of dreams and the symbolism of the subconscious mind. The collection of folklore material was also important in view of the very rapid changes now taking place in life in India generally and particularly in communications. On the religious side survivals of beliefs were to be found in India which went back to a primaeval stage of human history.

All this indicated the enormous field in India for anthropological research in all its branches, and what was most urgently needed was intensify local work in the collection of material before it was lost in the very rapid changes now taking place, as an instance of which was cited the rise in the figures of road transport of almost all kinds at the 1931 census. Extensive work involving generalisation can always be done later. Dr. Hutton then turned to the practical value of the study of anthropology. He suggested the application of anthropological investigation to the question of the excess of males over females in the population of India, its causes and its consequences; it is possible that the caste system and endogamous marriage may be partly responsible, through excessive mortality among girls aged 15 to 30 as a result of early marriage undoubtedly contributes. Above all, the study of anthropology should help to supply that 'new outlook on life. It would assist in getting rid of ideas of tabu which were confined by any means to savages but flourished wherever there was a highly organized hierarchical religion. Untouchability was quoted as an instance. Dogmatic religion always tends to be rigid, whereas the standard of human mortality, as pointed out recently by Professor Hallane, always tended to be quantitative or relative. Too rigid a code was apt to involve us in restrictions in custom and behaviour which are contrary to the welfare of Society.

Anthropology was also qualified to afford a better understanding between races. This was not only needed as between Britons and Indians, but between different component races of India itself. We have to learn to adapt ourselves to a world which is rapidly shrinking, and bringing into contact peoples and races with standards and ideas not readily compatible. Failure to adapt ourselves to new and possibly unwelcome contacts will merely cause discomfort to all.

Finally, any knowledge about the human race which anthropology could offer was to be welcomed as necessary to its survival. Great extensions of knowledge have been and are being made in matters which give man control of his physical environment, but the merest beginning has been made in knowledge of man's own nature and the control and the development of the human race itself. It has taken the human race about a million years to reach its present stage of development. Change has been slow in the past, but is now proceeding apace.

Sir James Jeans' estimates that the world will remain inhabitable for a million times a million years, and if humanity is to survive the incalculable changes which must take place during such a period, it will need all the knowledge of itself that it can acquire. The complacent attitude that "Truth is great and will prevail" was unduly optimistic, but it was the duty of all scientists to labour to that end.

### Second Day—Calcutta—3rd. January 1935

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#### Medical and Veterinary Section

Presiding over the Section of Medical and Veterinary Research, *Major K. R. K. Iyengar M. D., D. P. H., I. M. S.* spoke on Rabies. Rabies, he said, has been known to mankind for over 2000 years. In the earliest pages of the history of medicine there is evidence of a very remarkable knowledge as to the character of rabic infection. The first reliable information of this disease among dogs is found in Aristotle (B. C. 322) who was familiar with the spreading of the disease from dog to dog by means of the bite. In 1804 Zinke observed that the saliva of dogs was infective, and he artificially infected healthy dogs, rabbits and fowls with rabies by painting the saliva of rabid dogs into freshly made wounds. This was the beginning of experimental research work in rabies. From 1881-1888 Pasteur, by a series of brilliant researches, provided the constant occurrence of the rabies virus in the central nervous system of diseased animals. He further showed that other animals could be infected with it by direct inoculation upon the surface of the brain and this resulted in the method of certain diagnosis of rabies. He offered to the world a method which would overcome the infection after it was received by the inoculation of the rabbit fixed virus in various stages of attenuation and thereby placed the coping stone upon a life-work which has transformed the whole face of medical theory. As the immunity response appeared analogous to that met in bacterial diseases, Pasteur considered he was dealing with an organism which he was unable to see with the microscope then available. Up to date no discovery concerning the disease is on a par with the classical work done by him. The failure to isolate the virus and cultivate it was still the main difficulty in making progress.

Of the many experiments carried out in the cultivation of rabies virus, not one can stand criticism. A successful cultivation would provide the correct basis for prophylaxis as well as for a specific therapy. In 1913, Noguchi claimed to have grown successfully the rabies virus in test tubes but he could not proceed with the work and every one who has repeated his procedure has failed to confirm his results. Although the nature of the causative agent is still unsettled it must however receive consideration in any discussion on diseases caused by filtrable viruses.

By far the largest proportion of persons who come to anti-rabic institutes for treatment have been bitten by dogs. Dogs must therefore be regarded as the chief agents in producing mortality from hydrophobia in man. Jackals inflict about 5 per cent of the bites; cats still smaller proportion; whilst other animals may be left out of consideration. If rabies amongst dogs were to be practically eliminated, not only would the greater number of deaths from hydrophobia in man be prevented, but also a large number of cattle and domestic animals would be saved. Stray dogs when rabid transmits infection here, there, and everywhere until they succumb to the disease.

In Germany rabies has been so successfully controlled that it is now regarded as entirely a frontier disease, that is to say, every case in man and animals can be traced to an importation and rigorous preventive measures are promptly taken. In Australia I believe that rabies is now unknown. In the British Isles the muzzling order was introduced followed by the quarantine of all imported dogs, and this has resulted in the eradication of the disease within a few years. At the time there was a public outcry against these orders but yet the end justified the means and persistence was crowned with success. To control rabies, dogs must be controlled; and if any class or individual is beyond control they must be gradually eliminated and not allowed again to come into existence. In this endeavour the State and the public are interested and earnest co-operation is necessary on all sides if anything is to be achieved in the way of regulating the dog nuisance and the danger from rabies.

#### Third Day—Calcutta—4th. January 1935

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The need for a study of Anthropology because of its other use is even greater in our country. I believe, as all educationists must, that knowledge sooner or later influences our attitudes and practices, to a greater or less extent. I have already dwelt on the liberalizing and liberating influence of a comparative study of culture. At the present juncture, when we are passing through a trying phase of contact with Western culture, a deep study of cultural process, the need for contact and interaction, and the cyclical nature of civilisation ought to orient us properly towards the situation.

It is accepted by a large number of our educated countrymen that there is much maladjustment in our social institutions, and anachronism in some of our religious beliefs and practices. It is also felt by many that one of the chief causes of the lack of unity between the Muslim and the Hindu sections of our nation is mutual ignorance of their respective cultures. A general study of culture thus becomes a national necessity with every educated Indian. It therefore ought to find a place in our University curricula.

It is well known to you that many of our social reformers when they suggested certain reforms in our social customs and religious beliefs appealed to—and there are many who still appeal to—the old scriptures and tried to gain support for their ideas by interpreting the scriptures in such a way as to uphold the ideas they wished to promulgate. In so far as such an attitude assumed that many of the desirable reforms were only our ancient customs and beliefs enshrined in the scriptures but latterly mis-interpreted it engendered—and even now it does so—a firm belief in the minds of laymen that our scriptures are all comprehensive and we need not go outside them for reform. It strengthens and strengthens the common belief that our scriptures are infallible.

If the reformers interpreted the scriptures in a manner to uphold their views scores of Pundits could vouchsafe for the accepted and routine interpretation which fully endorsed the current practices and beliefs. Laymen already very favourably biased on behalf of their customs were and are swayed by the interpretation of their beloved Pundits. The result is that in spite of the splendid endeavour of the many high-souled and earnest reformers the desirable reforms have been very slow to come into practice. I firmly believe that the right method of approach towards the problem of social and religious reform is not by way of an appeal to a fresh interpretation of scriptures but by way of presenting to all educated people—and through them at second hand to even the uneducated ones—a comprehensive picture of social institutions, customs, and religious beliefs of peoples of different climes and times and of various stages of cultural development. It is only when our educated brethren are armed with a comparative study of this kind that some of them at least will develop a proper attitude towards our existing customs and beliefs.

All those, therefore, who will have the chance of leading public opinion in howsoever a small area and in whatever capacity—whether as a taluk-officer or as a political leader or as a social worker—should have made a comparative study of social institutions and religious beliefs. I submit that the end can only be achieved if this aspect of Anthropology is made compulsory in many of our courses of study for various examinations.

The considerations set forth above have led me to the opinion that the examination for the recruitment to Civil Services ought to have certain subjects compulsory and of these at least the two aspects of Anthropology—viz., a general study of culture and a comparative study of social institutions and religious beliefs—must be one. Similarly to achieve the objective they ought to be introduced, along with some other social sciences, as compulsory subjects in Degree-courses which pertain to non-specialized examinations.

#### Romance of Coal-Tar

Dr. A. C. Sircar, President of the Section of Chemistry in his address on "Recent work on the Higher Coal-Tar Hydrocarbons", gave in the beginning a short review of the recent work that had been done with the object of utilising that commodity. The chemical investigator, said Dr. Sircar, has always a flavour of romance attached to it, although to the lay public coal-tar, judging by any of their organs of sense,

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*Dr. N. R. Sen*, presiding over the Section of Mathematics and Physics, delivered an address on the development of Modern Theoretical Physics and its limitations, in course of which he dwelt on the "bond of continuity" that had existed between the mediaval and modern physical science. Passing on the consideration of the New Mechanics with its achievements and limitations he pointed out the lines on which further development was to be expected.

#### Psychology Section

Presiding over the Section of Psychology, *Dr. Subrata Chandra Mitra* of the University College of Science spoke on "psychology and life". He referred to a tendency in many intellectual centre, especially perhaps in our land, to decline to put serious conditions on any proposition that does not bear the mark of some one or other of the recognised philosophical schools or is not amenable to the process of measurement by some one or other of the accepted ethical standards. The tendency is certainly not healthy for the development of any science.

After crossing the "hurdles" of behaviourism and philosophy, Dr. Mitra came to the centre of his theme, and referred to the problem of the individual how to adjust one's self to the social conditions of life or to make the social conditions suitable to one's self—and on the ability to offer useful solutions of this problem depends the success of psychology as a practical science.

Dealing with the individual abnormality, which is anti-social and which society devises mean to counteract, Dr. Mitra said : "Preservation of the harmony is the goal of all man's striving and the effort to maintain it is the spring of all the everyday actions. For these reasons, I consider that the definition of disease given by Dr. Boer is the most accurate and logical one from the theoretical standpoint as it has also proved to be the most fruitful in the practical field. He defines disease "as an abnormal and an anti-social trait" and by an abnormal trait he means a trait whose deviation from the average is greater than the standard deviation of the group to which the individual belongs. The conception of abnormality thus varies not only from group to group but also from age to age.

"The method of dealing with abnormalities, when by accident or for reasons not yet discovered, they happen to be present in rather a large body of persons, varies in different societies and history shows that only those societies have flourished and continued to live which found, let us call it, the social method of treating them.

"For example everyone agrees that Hermaphroditism is an abnormality and is present in almost every society perhaps in much larger numbers than is usually imagined. But a society which refuses to tolerate them and imposes restricting legislations regarding them only weakens itself; because by forcefully shutting out these victims of circumstances for traits for which they themselves are certainly not responsible, a society creates dissensions among its own members and invites the hatred and antagonism of a large section of its own populace. The net result of this turns out to be the loss of that adjustment which is the essence of a living society. But in some societies as e. g. in our Hindu society, all these discriminations and consequent tension of feelings have been avoided by a very simple but at the same time highly ingenious method, viz., by giving these unfortunate a distinct social status. They have been made to feel that though abnormal they have certainly some function to fulfil in the service of society and this at once removes the sting from their grievances. Being assured of a safe and somewhat responsible place in society they do not feel themselves compelled to wage war against it, as similarly deformed persons have to do in other lands. Witness, e. g. the efforts of Mrs. Radcliffe Hall in her book "The Well of Loneliness" or the attempts in some other countries to obtain legal sanctions for acts of homosexuality.

"Now these Hermaphrodites cannot be at once cured of their disturbing hereditary defects by means of medicine, neither can they be all on a sudden removed from the face of the earth by mere magic or murdered all together by acts of legislation. Therefore, however paradoxical it may sound, the only effective way of dealing with them and of preserving society against them lies in taking them within its fold and by an amoeboid movement absorbing them into it.

"A large number of abnormal persons has been integrated into social groups by the simple device of providing for them an appropriate social atmosphere as is to be found in the different religious sects. The religious practices of these sects are often very queer but because of the fact that they have a social sanction behind them a good deal of individual mental struggle is avoided. The operations of the best instinct, in providing mental equilibrium are to be seen in these so-called abnormals

*Dr. N. R. Sen*, presiding over the Section of Mathematics and Physics, delivered an address on the development of Modern Theoretical Physics and its limitations, in course of which he dwelt on the "bond of continuity" that had existed between the mediæval and modern physical science. Passing on the consideration of the New Mechanics with its achievements and limitations he pointed out the lines on which further development was to be expected.

### Psychology Section

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various committees and subcommittees which have been appointed by the University, a better system of education, more suitable to the modern conditions of life in our country, will emerge which will help to stem the tide of disappointment and distrust that has overtaken our youths and to root out from their hearts the source of all mad and reckless activities.

"Let it however be brought home to all concerned that however ideal a school curriculum may be from the theoretical standpoint it may not be possible for every boy and girl to go through the course prescribed. It is sheer waste of energy to attempt to force down the same matter in the same way through the throats of all. The time and the effort of the students unfit for such a curriculum but compelled to undertake same are entirely lost. Such a student when he grows up becomes merely a burden to society, whereas the chances are that had he been given proper facilities for developing his own innate aptitudes which did not perhaps lie in the line of the prescribed course, he might have been one of the most useful members of it.

"It is in connection with this problem that the Intelligence Tests perfected by the psychologists are of the greatest use. In other countries periodical tests of the intelligence of every student have become a regular feature of all school work and in some countries college freshmen even are subjected to tests with a view to helping them with suggestions as to the courses best fitted for them.

"I should mention, that in India too some work in this direction has been done. Dr. Rice has translated the Terman tests into Hindusthani, and attempts to form suitable questionnaires and to determine norms of Bengali children have been made and are still being made by Mr. H. P. Mati and Mr. G. Pal, both of our Department in the University here, the former of whom was elected President of the Psychology section of the Philosophical Conference which has just concluded its deliberations at Waltair. I would like to suggest here that the preparation of standardised sets of intelligence tests, suitable to the different provinces of India be at once undertaken by the respective Universities and the labours of the different Universities in this direction be co-ordinated through the medium of the Inter-University Board. The determination of norms is no doubt a task beset with difficulties but they are not insurmountable ones. As regards the University of Calcutta, I think, the already existing Board called the Students' Health Welfare Committee may be enlarged by the addition of Psychologists and recognised teachers whose duties it will be to collect psychological statistics along with other information regarding the physical health of the students. When these statistics have been collected they may be sifted and analysed and out of them the norms may be prepared".

*Dr. Mitra* then referred to the value of psychology in revealing the contents of the infants' mind and in this connection paid a tribute to the work of Freud and said that psycho-analysts have unjustly been accused of 'sex mania'. The educational significance of Freud's researches lies specially in the theory which he has propounded regarding the development of the sex life of the infant and the interplay of the emotions of love and hatred towards their parents.

"It is very much to be regretted", he said, "that while the number of mentally afflicted persons is steadily going up in our country, the attempt to grapple with this growing evil is limited as yet only to a few persons".

## The National Institute of Sciences

The inauguration of the National Institute of Sciences in India was performed on the 7th. January 1935 in the afternoon at the Senate House of the Calcutta University by His Excellency Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal.

In course of a short speech Dr. Hutton, President of the Indian Science Congress, invited His Excellency to perform the ceremony.

### Governor's Address

Inaugurating the first session of the National Institute of Sciences of India, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal in course of his speech said :—

The popular conception of a scientist is that of a man who pursues truth for its own sake and with no interest, or at any rate no selfish interest in the practical

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India through the largely accidental external influences of colonisation aided by free communications with other parts of the world which have themselves developed differently and at a different pace. The vast country which is inhabited by at least 350 million people is as regards the illiterate masses in much the same condition as Europe during the middle ages. To those who have the time and the inclination it may afford an interesting field of speculation to consider what will be the result of the interaction between this modernism of the few and the traditionalism of the many. There is a humorous if cynical cliche on this subject to the effect that "He who bets on a certainty is a rogue ; he who does not is a fool." This much however is sure that the eventual results will largely depend on the wisdom, insight and intellectual calibre of those representing the ideas and sciences which this institute has been founded to promote.

I am sure from my personal observation that at its inception at any rate this Institute will be served by members blessed with wisdom as well as learning and that in consequence, its future is bright. I would only add, if I may, one word of caution and of exhortation. I know from my own experience how, by reason of their training and of the nature of their work, men of Science tend to become strongly individualistic in their outlook and impatient of any form of constraint or discipline. The success of this Institute will depend, I believe, very largely on the extent to which this very natural tendency can be held in check. No one, I am sure, need be apprehensive lest his work may suffer in freshness, originality or vigour from loyal adherence to the aims and objects of this Institute. On the contrary union is strength and inasmuch as the boundaries of science are constantly expanding and the interdependence of the individual sciences constantly increasing, I trust that this Institute will continue to be, as I am assured it is to-day, truly representative and that its members will all derive from it strength and inspiration and a greater capacity for service. In inaugurating this first session of the National Institute of Sciences of India, I wish the Institute all possible success.

#### Dr. Fermour's Address

In course of his inaugural address Dr. L. L. Fermour said :—

It is desirable to clarify our ideas about our National Institute ; and this can best be done by sketching briefly the development of scientific research in India so as to show the position of our National Institute of Sciences with reference to other scientific organisations, followed by a discussion upon what our National Institute should do.

In the present century we have entered on a new stage in the development of scientific research in India. In the matter of specialist scientific societies the geologists gave an early lead with the foundation of the Mining and Geological Institute of India in 1906. The Indian Mathematical Society was started in 1907 in Madras as the Indian Mathematical Club and at present the office thereof is in Poona. This was followed by the Institution of Engineers (India) founded in 1921, the Indian Chamber Society, was founded in 1924, as also the Geological, Mining, the Metallurgical Society of India ; whilst in the past year, three all-India societies have been founded in Calcutta, namely, the Indian Physical Society, the Indian Society of Soil Science, and the Indian Physiological Society. There is also the Society of Biological Chemists founded at Bangalore in and the Institution of Chemists (India) founded in Calcutta in 1927, the Calcutta Mathematical Society founded in 1908.

In addition to the Government scientific services there are also in India several research institutions viz. Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research at Muktesar, the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa (1903), the Central Research Institute at Kasauli (1906), the Imperial Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun (1906), and the All-India Institute of Public Health and Hygiene in Calcutta (1934), the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, and the Haffkine Institute, Bombay.

Further, there is an Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore founded in 1911.

#### THE UNIVERSITIES

Finally, we must mention the Universities which as their title indicates may be concerned with all branches of knowledge. The oldest universities in India are these of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, all of which were founded in 1857, followed by the University of the Punjab in 1882 and University of Allahabad in 1887. In those Universities Chairs of Mathematics, Chemistry, and Physics are almost universal and, in addition, most universities have chairs of Botany and Zoology, but only a small proportion of them have Chairs of Geology.

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## INDIAN ACADEMIES OF SCIENCES

When in 1933, the proposal was mooted to found an Indian Academy of Sciences, some of us overlooked the fact that there were already two such Academies in existence,—one called the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the other the United Provinces Academy of Sciences. The proposal, therefore, to found a third Indian Academy which was entrusted to a Committee appointed by the Indian Science Congress, logically meant either the creation of a fresh garden in another part of India, or of a body to co-ordinate the already existing gardens. Our friends in Bangalore knew all the time that they needed a Society of Academy status with its headquarters in Bangalore. Had they boldly said so at the beginning, the confusion that has arisen in scientific circles during the past year would have been avoided, because it is obviously correct that Southern India should have its own philosopher's garden. However, Bangalore did not do this, so that the general problem was entrusted to the Academy Committee appointed *ad hoc* by the Indian Science Congress. When this took place logic necessitated, though the position had then been analysed by no one, the formation of an Academy of Sciences in Southern India, and possibly of others in Western India and the Punjab, and then the formation of a co-ordinating body for all the Academies, three, four or five in number.

## THE INDIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, BANGALORE

Object as we may to the manner in which our Bangalore friends cut adrift and abruptly started a new Academy, their action has at least had the merit of revealing the logic of the situation, so that we can appropriately end by welcoming the Indian Academy of Sciences founded at Bangalore.

## THE FORMATION OF THE INSTITUTE

But we still need a co-ordinating body; and that is why it is necessary to found the National Institute. Obviously this co-ordinating body should not compete with the Academies in such a way as to harm them. The prime function of the Academies is to arrange for regular meetings for philosophic discussions on a suitable periodic basis, and for the regular periodic publication of the results of these meetings and discussions. With these activities of the Academies our National Institute should not seriously compete. Instead, our National Institute should have as one of its major activities the co-ordination of the labours of the various Academies. This may prove to be a task of some importance and magnitude, for since India is as large as Europe without Russia, so eventually, as the progress of science so justifies, it may prove desirable to found Academies of Sciences for several of the larger units of territory in India.

## LIASON OF NATIONAL INSTITUTE WITH THE ACADEMIES

There is at present no organic relationship between the co-ordinating Institute and the co-operating Academies. Each of the Academies is a completely independent body and the extent to which co-ordination of their labours can be effected through the National Institute depends upon the measure of concord that is established. We have arranged, however, for an effective liaison with the three existing Academies by providing on the Council of the National Institute for additional Vice-President and an additional Member of Council for each of the co-operating Academies to be nominated by the respective Academies. In addition also, partly because common sense requires it, and partly in acknowledgment of our debt of percentage, we are providing for an additional Vice-President and an additional Member of Council to be filled from the Executive Committee of the Indian Science Congress.

## FELLOWSHIP OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE

After full discussion the Academic Committee decided that our new body should have a membership sufficiently restricted to make it a distinction to belong thereto, but at the same time not so limited as to prevent us having at our disposal a useful volume of scientific experience and ability. After full discussion the Academy Committee decided that our new body should have a membership sufficiently restricted to make it a distinction to belong thereto but at the same time not so limited as to prevent us having at our disposal a useful volume of scientific experience and ability. We decided that it would be suitable to start with 125 Foundation Fellows and to elect 10 new Fellows annually thereafter. In selecting the Foundation Fellows the Academy Committee first assigned quotas on a percentage basis to the various sciences

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conveniently accessible to all workers of science in India. For this reason it has been agreed that one of the duties of the National Institute will be to issue a consolidated Comptes rendus or Proceedings containing summaries of the papers read before all the three co-operating Academies. I can imagine that later it may be asked why we confine our activities to papers read before Academies only, and I can foresee as a development that eventually it may prove desirable to include also summaries of papers published in specialist scientific societies, and in this way to produce a consolidated Comptes rendus of all papers read before both Academies and specialist societies in India.

Although normally scientific research is severely specialised, so that scientists tend to work in water-tight compartments, yet every science has its borders where it touches one or more other sciences, so that there are fruitful fields or, shall we say, gardens, of possible co-operation along these boundaries. It is, therefore, sometimes suitable and desirable to promote special meetings for the purpose of arranging discussions, by scientists of allied sciences of problems of joint interest. These discussions are usually known as symposia (literally drinking together) and it has been agreed that the arrangement of symposia may be regarded as one of the functions of the National Institute.

You will remember that in accordance with the resolutions passed in Bombay last January one of our purposes should be to promote and maintain a liaison between men of science and men of letters. The Academy Committee decided during the year that our first task must be to found an organisation devised specifically to suit the needs of scientists and that the question of providing for this liaison with letters must be left for the future. You will, I hope, all agree with me on the great desirability of ultimately effecting such a liaison which would be brought about ultimately if my vision of National Institutes of Arts and Letters co-operating with our National Institute of Sciences of India should come true. For the present we may consider that the desired liaison has been effected in an indirect way by the fact that one of the Academies co-operating with the National Institute, namely the Asiatic Society, is an Academy both of sciences and of letters.

Our provincial rules do not name any place as the headquarters and there is nothing in them to prevent a change of headquarters at any time should the interests of National Institute render this desirable. Meanwhile convenience and common sense appeared to require that we should, to begin with, locate the office of the Institute in Calcutta. Once concord had been established with Bangalore. Sir C. V. Raman himself suggested that this was obviously the logical and correct course to follow. We have accordingly decided to start in Calcutta, but in accordance with the statement made to our Foundation Fellows in our note on the aims and objects of the National Institute, we propose during the first year to take the opinion of our Fellows on this point.

As we have decided to make a commencement in Calcutta, the Asiatic Society of Bengal has generously offered to provide us with office accommodation; and also to permit us to meet in Council and to hold ordinary meetings of our National Institute as necessary in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In making this offer the Asiatic Society preserves its traditional position as the mother of the development of science in India. We hope also that the Government of India will assume towards our National Institute its traditional position as father by providing suitable funds. For I hope you have realised from my address that the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Government of India between them are the mother and father of the development of scientific research in India.

## All-India Muslim Educational Conference

The following is a summary of the presidential address delivered by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, M. L. A., at the 45th annual sitting of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference held at Agra on the 19th. March 1935.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed said that they were on the eve of a revolution in education with which the Government, the people and parents were all dissatisfied. The Government of India had recognised the feelings of the people, and they had accepted the opinions of Provincial Governments in a circular issued two months ago. The present problem could only be solved by the co-operation of the Government, the

conveniently accessible to all workers of science in India. For this reason it has been agreed that one of the duties of the National Institute will be to issue a consolidated Comptes rendus or Proceedings containing summaries of the papers read before all the three co-operating Academies. I can imagine that later it may be asked why we confine our activities to papers read before Academies only, and I can foresee as a development that eventually it may prove desirable to include also summaries of papers published in specialist scientific societies, and in this way to produce a consolidated Comptes rendus of all papers read before both Academies and specialist societies in India.

Although normally scientific research is severely specialised, so that scientists tend to work in water-tight compartments, yet every science has its borders where it touches one or more other sciences, so that there are fruitful fields or, shall we say, gardens, of possible co-operation along these boundaries. It is, therefore, sometimes suitable and desirable to promote special meetings for the purpose of arranging discussions, by scientists of allied sciences of problems of joint interest. These discussions are usually known as symposia (literally drinking together) and it has been agreed that the arrangement of symposia may be regarded as one of the functions of the National Institute.

You will remember that in accordance with the resolutions passed in Bombay last January one of our purposes should be to promote and maintain a liaison between men of science and men of letters. The Academy Committee decided during the year that our first task must be to found an organisation devised specifically to suit the needs of scientists and that the question of providing for this liaison with letters must be left for the future. You will, I hope, all agree with me on the great desirability of ultimately effecting such a liaison which would be brought about ultimately if my vision of National Institutes of Arts and Letters co-operating with our National Institute of Sciences of India should come true. For the present we may consider that the desired liaison has been effected in an indirect way by the fact that one of the Academies co-operating with the National Institute, namely the Asiatic Society, is an Academy both of sciences and of letters.

Our provincial rules do not name any place as the headquarters and there is nothing in them to prevent a change of headquarters at any time should the interests of National Institute render this desirable. Meanwhile convenience and common sense appeared to require that we should, to begin with, locate the office of the Institute in Calcutta. Once concord had been established with Bangalore. Sir C. V. Raman himself suggested that this was obviously the logical and correct course to follow. We have accordingly decided to start in Calcutta, but in accordance with the statement made to our Foundation Fellows in our note on the aims and objects of the National Institute, we propose during the first year to take the opinion of our Fellows on this point.

As we have decided to make a commencement in Calcutta, the Asiatic Society of Bengal has generously offered to provide us with office accommodation; and also to permit us to meet in Council and to hold ordinary meetings of our National Institute as necessary in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In making this offer the Asiatic Society preserves its traditional position as the mother of the development of science in India. We hope also that the Government of India will assume towards our National Institute its traditional position as father by providing suitable funds. For I hope you have realised from my address that the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Government of India between them are the mother and father of the development of scientific research in India.

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should continue to be a centre of Muslim culture and learning ; and it should provide teaching and research in Islamic subjects for which no provision could possibly exist in any other institution. For technical education, he advocated the establishment of a Polytechnic Institute which might provide teaching in a variety of subjects.

Regarding female education, he regretted the lack of education amongst the Muslim women. The people were inclined to send their girls to schools, but opportunities did not exist. He advocated separate schools for Muslim girls for three reasons : (1) Absence of Muslim traditions from the text-books in Government Girls' School ; (2) lack of provision of Pardha and religious instruction ; and (3) unsympathetic treatment of the staff. He advocated that liberal grant should be given to girls' schools. In the end, he emphasised the importance of separate courses and separate public examination for women, with schools which should be accompanied with all those privileges that are given to parallel examinations conducted by boys.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed then discussed the question of examinations and pointed out some of its important defects. He said that the whole of education was dominated by examinations. He held that success in examinations was more a question of luck than merit. Discussing the objects and scope of the Advisory Board of Education to be established from April, he said that its work and its functions should be similar to those of the Council of Agricultural Research. Educational changes of all India character should all be initiated by this body. It should co-ordinate the standard of High School Examinations all over India, and should make known the results of experiments carried on in various provinces. It should maintain a good library and periodically publish pamphlets in special subjects.

In conclusion, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed reviewed the work of the Provincial Conferences and said that they should also modify their system of work on the same line as is suggested for the All-India Educational Conference. The Provincial Conferences existed in many provinces, but for lack of definite ideals before them, their activities had now become seasonal. He said that though education could not solve all the problems of India, yet no such problems could be solved at all unless education was put on right foundation.

## All Bengal College Teachers' Conference

### Tenth Session—Calcutta—20th April 1935

Presiding over the tenth conference of the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association at Feni on Saturday the 20th April 1935, Prof. H. K. Sen in course of his address on some Problems of Modern Education said :—

When one notices that the fruits of education are not all that could be desired, in despondence, one naturally asks, what is wrong with the system ? The faith in the art of educating prompts enquiry into the fundamentals on which educability depends. Can these be anticipated and influenced ? Can the element of mystery be removed from phenomena related to the mind, by bringing them on a par with the positive sciences ? If evolution has been rendered possible by a limited variation in hereditary, does it imply a corresponding limit to the subject and scope of education ? Are we wasting substance and energy in trying to educate all ? Can we institute a mechanical analogy as to the task before us ?

We are beginning to realise the possibility of overcoming many of the so-called defects of the mind or intellect, either by resorting to special considerations of the physical side, or by devising means of intellectual appeal suitable for the individual in question, or by applying a combination of both methods. At the same time, this conception of education has in it a further important implication, namely, the ready adaptability of certain types to certain definite but distinct modes of training. The probable variations being very large, if not indeed infinite, may we not after all be performing a most objectionable function by trying to convert all into one type ? Should all be either lions, or tigers or apes ? Is there not the desirability of producing the best of each according to tendencies with which they are born ? Should then, the method of handling be alike ? These are questions which should be considered in developing the future education of humanity. The theoretical complexity may at first stagger us, but fortunately, the various types can be, for all practical

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finally a personal matter, encouraging the habit of reading for one's ownself should be the basic principle of teaching whether in the universities or in the schools. Hence libraries should be available to students and people generally on the one hand, and popular addresses, visits to exhibitions and museums should be encouraged. The gamut of understanding should not be very hurriedly accentuated, and only a normal and easy growth through generation can bring a nation or a race to a higher standard of cultural living. The most healthy sign of a national evolution is its demand for cultural, and not that culture is thrust upon any one. Here in India we are constantly speaking of mass education, but not the masses. Is the time ripe for it? The success of compulsory education will be very much reduced, if the desire to have it did not come from within. In other words, the proneness for education must be shown by the person himself, otherwise education will be misplaced, and expenses incurred without corresponding benefit.

This may look like an advocacy of retrogression, but when one desires compulsory mass education to be introduced he must be prepared for the corresponding alteration in the outlook of life. If then the circumstances, social, economic and political do not afford him the chances of fruition, his whole life becomes a philosophy of discontent. Thus education instead of being a source of happiness, brings misery in its train. The central idea is that the urge must come from inside for the acquisition of knowledge, as much as appetite from a natural healthy physical balance. Then food is relished and absorbed, and the system has the sense of well-being. In any case, one has to believe in this appropriate evolution :not only amongst the masses, but also amongst the so-called privileged classes. The fruits of university education are only indifferently enjoyed by the general educated community. The sense of comfort, the standard of living, the possibilities of the joys of life, all which education unfolds can hardly come to the lot of many, as they constitute mostly material comforts and, as such, economic sufficiency is at the bottom of such a realisation of life. There is thus unconsciously created a situation in which competition of a gross or vulgar type springs into existence, and a group feeling against groups automatically results.

All questions here must be considered from two points of view, the internal (national) and the external (international), and a philosophy harmonising these two should be defined. The moral value of such a dual system of treatment may indeed be enhanced to a degree of sublimity bordering on a universal federation, and the modern youth tendencies go far to show the necessity for expanding the geographical boundaries to combat against this isolation of the races. Such and similar ideas must proceed from educational institutions, where youths are prepared for the battle of life. The mere imparting of the three R's is the least part of human education. While equipping men and women for some kind of work, they fail to equip them for the real struggle of life where the philosophical fundamentals regulating the relation between individuals, nations and races, are of primary importance. Hence it is that culture has more value than civilisation, and religion more than science?

Now, as it is important to bring these thoughts within the scope of modern education, no less important is the unification of the natural forces with the higher problems of spiritual life. In other words, to harness material forces so as to serve the higher ends of human destiny, should be the end of scientific discoveries. Unfortunately, however, much good has been adulterated with much evil by the material progress ushered in by the brilliant success in scientific research! The march of destruction proceeds apace with the institutions of healing; pleasures have to be brought by the usury of pain! A problem that is not considered gentle enough for educationists in this country to touch upon is the problem of sex. To-day is the day for sex-problemists. They have tried all their ingenuity to justify unbridled sex. It would have been so simple, and not a matter for justification, if only they would combine the necessary element of truth and justice in such relations. If they would, they soon notice that the relation of sex is not at all ugly, but full of joy and creative glory. Under conditions of truth and justice, even if the present system of marriage were discontinued, a system would ensue which is no less binding than marriage and no less sacred because it was not performed at the altar. If the marriage system has degenerated, it is for deficiency in truth and justice, and any future relation between man and woman would not last, unless these two elements are present. No amount of sex appetite can be sufficient to bind two together, unless the higher traits of human character influence their actions. In educational institutions, co-education is assuming an important aspect. Now, speaking frankly, if our daughters and sisters are to enter the struggle of economic life, is it possible to segregate the two sexes? If the former is accepted, the latter

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A comparison of the knowledge of a city boy and a village boy of the same age brings out very clearly the need for some radical change in the practical side of our educational schemes in addition to the hereto accepted cultural training of the boys, the business of the life requires the development of what may be called vocational culture to which little or no practical step has yet been directed. Industrialisation of school education carries with it the highest ideals of a democratic nation, and it is by combating the fewer incidents of failure by the more numerous ones of success that its usefulness has to be universally proved and established. For a country with the full prospect of economic independence, both by virtue of its extensive agriculture and mineral deposits as also by its huge population there can be no doubt that the development of practical trend of mind by incorporating industrial education into the fabric of its culture, a position of contentment, power and dignity could be attained which would take years to be distributed by international squabbles. It was, therefore, thought necessary at the Conference in Bengal to form a Committee for the consideration of this subject with the speaker as the convener. It would be only apposite to refer to the unanimous opinion which the Committee held with regard to the introduction of practical methods in the training of boys and as to the advisability of imparting education through the medium of the vernacular. It behoves me further in this connection to refer to the problem of secondary education. Personally I feel that by retaining intermediate colleges under the University, the University is accepting too much responsibility on the one hand, and unintentionally stunting the growth of secondary schools on the other.

It is generally agreed, after a course of training in the school, a boy should be fit to undertake the ordinary avocations of life (not that of a specialist). The curriculum of the schools should therefore be so framed and the teaching so synchronized that this object may be practically realised. It can be stated without fear of any contradiction that the present system has failed to achieve this end ; even after passing the intermediate examination, a boy's equipment is below the requirements of ordinary life. It is sad to admit that even the degree course does not lead any further. The real reason is that no serious attempt has been made to develop the understanding of the boy, in spite of the high-sounding syllabus prepared from time to time by the University. Unless we do away with the necessary details of education, and stock our schools with real teachers who feel their vocation, and who sincerely believe in an ideal of education not divested of the requirements of daily life, no amount of legislation, no amount of secondary board, would make for any substantial advance in the educational problem of our country. The first incongruity is the medium of instruction, which is now expected to be remedied.

The rather unusually large number of students seeking admission to the degree and post-graduate classes, has disturbed many educationists. In an extremely thoughtful address at the Mysore University Convocation, Mr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, discussed several years ago, a natural remedy for the 'mass-production of graduates' as so expressively put by Sir P. C. Ray. "Once high school methods are discontinued at the College stage, students incapable of working according to University standards will drop out. Employment of specialists, diversified courses, increased options, smaller classes, self-help and self-reliance on the part of students, the joy of research work, the disinterested pursuit of knowledge, and daily contact with noble souls—all these go together, and they will help to obviate both mass production of graduates and sterile insignificant carees. It is mis-education, not over-education that has been the bane of this country". Others would secure efficiency by strict examination. I have no doubt this would be a remedy, but to secure efficiency by ruthless elimination is one thing, and to bring up the general standard of students' intellectual calibre is another.

I confess there is not a human system that cannot be improved. The post-graduate system is a human system. With all its imperfections, the academic freedom, its chief characteristic, which it has enjoyed since its inception, has been more than justified by some of the most brilliant contributions from its members. It was a bold experiment, probably conceived a little ahead of the times, but even this short period has proved the sagacity of the step. Bengal should see that no short sighted policy may cut at the root of this sprouting tree.

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# The Benares Hindu University Convocation

Following is the full text of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's Convocation Address at the Benares Hindu University on the 8th. February 1935 :—

The call of invitation that has led me on to this platform to-day, though imperative in its demand, is, I must confess, foreign to my temperament. It speaks of a responsibility which I am compelled to acknowledge owing to my previous Karma that has identified me with a vocation specially belonging to that beneficent section of community which surely is not mine. Believe me, once upon a time I was young, in fact, younger than most of you ; and in that early dawn of mind's first urge of expansion I instinctively chose my own true path which, I believe, was to give rhythmic expression to life on a colourful background of imagination.

Pursuing the lure of dreams I spent my young days in a reckless adventure—forcing verses through a rigid barricade of literary conventions. Such foolhardiness made with serious disapproval of the severely sober among the overripe minds of that epoch. If I had persisted exclusively in this inconsequential career of a versifier you would not have ventured to ask such an unadulterated poet to take a conspicuous part in this solemn occasion when a great University has gathered her scholars to remind them of the high obligations associated with their success in college examinations.

However, towards the period of my declining youth, I took upon myself, for no ostensible reason whatever, the deliberate mission of the teacher. This transformation in my life helped to unlock the gates to me at those institutions where my right of entry could legitimately be challenged. While enjoying the unaccustomed honour thus acquired I should confess to you that it was not a compelling sense of duty which guided me to this field of education but some long maturing ideals in my mind that constantly troubled my imagination claiming definite shapes. I have decided to speak to you about these ideals.

Before I broach my subject to-day I shall claim your indulgence in one or two points. It is evident to you that I have grown old, but you, who are young cannot fully realise the limitations of old age. That I am not in a full possession of my breath may not be of any importance to others whose lungs are strong and whose hearts render loyal service to them without murmur. It may have a salutary effect upon me in curtailing the garrulity to which an old man's tongue has the habit to glide in.

But what is more significant about man who has crossed his seventieth year is that by that time he has concluded most of his opinions and thoughts and thus is compelled to repeat himself. This is one of the reasons why the young persons bored by his reiterations become naturally excited to a violent fit of contradiction which may be courteously suppressed and therefore all the more outrageous. But to save my energies I am ready to take the consequence and openly to plagiarize my own store of thoughts and even words. I strongly suspect that you have missed them, for, not being in your text books, they must have remained beyond the reach of your serious attention, and I am confident that there is very little chance of your taking the trouble to explore them in obscure pages of publications generally overlooked by my countrymen.

In modern India centres of education have been established in large towns where the best part of energy and interest of the country is attracted. The constant flow of stimulation working upon our mind from its comic environment is denied us who are bread in towns. A great deal of the fundamental objects of knowledge with which nature provides us free of cost is banished into printed pages and a spontaneous communication of sympathy with the great world which is intimately ours is barricaded against. I who belong to the tribe of the born exiles having been artificially nourished by "the stony hearted stepmother"—a modern city, keenly felt the torture of it when young and thus realised, when opportunity was given me, the utmost necessity of Nature's own bounties for the proper development of children's mind.

It helps me to imagine the main tragedy that I believe had overshadowed the life of the Poet Kalidasa. Fortunately for the scholars, he has left behind him no clear indication of his birth-place, and thus they have a subject that obvious time has left amply vacant for an endless variety of disagreement. My scholarship does not pretend to go deep, but I remember having read somewhere that he was born in Kasmir. Since then I have left off reading discussions about his birthplace for the fear of the meeting with some learned contradiction equally convincing any how it was perfectly in the

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Following is the full text of *Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's Convocation Address at the Benares Hindu University on the 8th. February 1935* :—

The call of invitation that has led me on to this platform to-day, though imperative in its demand, is, I must confess, foreign to my temperament. It speaks of a responsibility which I am compelled to acknowledge owing to my previous Karma that has identified me with a vocation specially belonging to that beneficent section of community which surely is not mine. Believe me, once upon a time I was young, in fact, younger than most of you ; and in that early dawn of mind's first urge of expansion I instinctively chose my own true path which, I believe, was to give rhythmic expression to life on a colourful background of imagination.

Pursuing the lure of dreams I spent my young days in a reckless adventure—forcing verses through a rigid barricade of literary conventions. Such foolhardiness made with serious disapproval of the severely sober among the overripe minds of that epoch. If I had persisted exclusively in this inconsequential career of a versifier you would not have ventured to ask such an unadulterated poet to take a conspicuous part in this solemn occasion when a great University has gathered her scholars to remind them of the high obligations associated with their success in college examinations.

However, towards the period of my declining youth, I took upon myself, for no ostensible reason whatever, the deliberate mission of the teacher. This transformation in my life helped to unlock the gates to me at those institutions where my right of entry could legitimately be challenged. While enjoying the unaccustomed honour thus acquired I should confess to you that it was not a compelling sense of duty which guided me to this field of education but some long maturing ideals in my mind that constantly troubled my imagination claiming definite shapes. I have decided to speak to you about these ideals.

Before I broach my subject to-day I shall claim your indulgence in one or two points. It is evident to you that I have grown old, but you, who are young cannot fully realise the limitations of old age. That I am not in a full possession of my breath may not be of any importance to others whose lungs are strong and whose hearts render loyal service to them without murmur. It may have a salutary effect upon me in curtailing the garrulity to which an old man's tongue has the habit to glide in.

But what is more significant about man who has crossed his seventieth year is that by that time he has concluded most of his opinions and thoughts and thus is compelled to repeat himself. This is one of the reasons why the young persons bored by his reiterations become naturally excited to a violent fit of contradiction which may be courteously suppressed and therefore all the more outrageous. But to save my energies I am ready to take the consequence and openly to plagiarize my own store of thoughts and even words. I strongly suspect that you have missed them, for, not being in your text books, they must have remained beyond the reach of your serious attention, and I am confident that there is very little chance of your taking the trouble to explore them in obscure pages of publications generally overlooked by my countrymen.

In modern India centres of education have been established in large towns where the best part of energy and interest of the country is attracted. The constant flow of stimulation working upon our mind from its comic environment is denied us who are bread in towns. A great deal of the fundamental objects of knowledge with which nature provides us free of cost is banished into printed pages and a spontaneous communication of sympathy with the great world which is intimately ours is barricaded against. I who belong to the tribe of the born exiles having been artificially nourished by "the stony hearted stepmother"—a modern city, keenly felt the torture of it when young and thus realised, when opportunity was given me, the utmost necessity of Nature's own bounties for the proper development of children's mind.

It helps me to imagine the main tragedy that I believe had overshadowed the life of the Poet Kalidasa. Fortunately for the scholars, he has left behind him no clear indication of his birth-place, and thus they have a subject that obvious time has left amply vacant for an endless variety of disagreement. My scholarship does not pretend to go deep, but I remember having read somewhere that he was born in Kasmir. Since then I have left off reading discussions about his birthplace for the fear of the meeting with some learned contradiction equally convincing any how it was perfectly in the

other than that of the human community. For us the world nature has no reciprocal path of union which may be termed as moral. Its manifestations in the predestined course of activities take no heed of our conduct or necessity, make no distinction between the good and the evil. The human relationship with the blind forces combining in an eternal game of creation, indifferent to our personal cry, can only be established through our own personal faculty of reason whose logic is universal. By understanding Nature's laws and modulating them to our needs we reach the Shantam in the extra-human world, the Shantam which is the fundamental principle of harmony. Such an adjustment of Nature's workings to human intelligence has been progressing from the beginning on Man's history, and according to the degree of that progress we judge that department of our civilisation, which we generalise, very often wrongly, as materialistic.

The Supreme being, says the Upanishad, has to be realised with our heart and mind as well, as Visvakarma and as 'Mahatma sadajanam bridae sanivishtah'. His name Visvakarma implies laws that are universal through which his activities in the physical world are revealed. They would elude our reason if they were expressions of a capricious will, then we could never depend upon the inevitability of their influences upon our destiny, the influences which can only be turned to our favour if we have perfect knowledge of them. There are individuals even to-day, who believe in some happenings in nature which are arbitrary and local, which ignore all the endless links of causes that keep the world in order. They imagine that the physical phenomena are liable to sudden outbreaks of catastrophic chasms which are like special ordinances originating in isolated causes. Faith in such cosmic arbitrariness derives men to the primitive mentality of fear, to unmeaning ritualism, to imputations of special purpose upon natural events according to one's own personal tendencies of mind. We ought to know that numerous evils which in olden days were considered as punitive weapons in the arsenal of God have been tamed to innocuousness through accurate comprehension of their character.

It has been said in our scripture that 'avidya' which means ignorance is the root cause of all evils, the ignorance which blinds us to the truth of the unity of our self with the not-self.

Man's 'sadhana' for his union with nature depends for its success upon his faith in his reason and his disinterested endeavour in an atmosphere of detachment. A perfect technique of such a training is largely found in the West, and there the people are fast assimilating in their own power the power that lies in 'Anna' Brahma, the infinity manifested in matter. In fact they are gradually extending their own physical body into the larger body of the physical world. Their senses are constantly being augmented in power, their bodily movements allied to nature's forces of speed. Every day proofs are multiplied convincing them that there is no end to such intimacy leading to the extension of their self in the realm of time and space. This is the true means of realising Visvakarma, the universal worker, by a mind divested of all doubts and by action,

Shantam, the spirit of peace which can be attained through the realisation of truth, is not the whole object of education: it needs for its finality Shivam, Goodness, through the training of moral perfection, for the sake of the perfect harmony with the human world.

The greatness which man has reached in the expansion of the physical and intellectual possibilities in him shows, no doubt, a great advancement in the course of his evolution. Yet in its lop-sided emphasis it carries the curse of 'avidya,' the mother of all sufferings and futility, 'avidya,' which obscures the warning for him that his individual self when isolated from all other selves misses its reality and therefore suffers unhappiness, just as physical body is thwarted in its function when out of harmony with the physical world.

The union of our self with Brahma as Visvakarma may bring us success in the province of living, but for the peace and perfection in the realm of our being we need our union with Brahma who is Mahatma, the Infinite Spirit dwelling in the hearts of all peoples.

With the modern facilities of communication not merely a limited number of individuals but all the races of men have come close to each other. If they fail to unite in truth then humanity will flounder in the bottom of a surging sea of mutual hatred and suspicion. Things to-day have already assumed an angry temper of a growling beastliness ready for an enormous catastrophe of suicide.

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The activity represented in human education is a world-wide one, it is a great movement of universal co-operation interlinked by different ages and countries. And India, though defeated in her political destiny, has her responsibility to hold up the cause of truth, even to cry in the wilderness and offer her lessons to the world in the best gifts which she could produce. The messengers of truth have ever joined their hands across centuries, across the seas, across historical barriers, and they help to form the great continent of human brotherhood. Education in all its different forms and channels has its ultimate purpose in the evolving of a illuminous sphere of human mind from the nebula that has been rushing round ages to find in itself an eternal centre of unity. We individuals however small may be our power and whatever corner of the world we may belong to, have the claim upon us to add to the light of the consciousness that comprehends all humanity. And for this cause I ask your co-operation, not merely because co-operation itself is the best aspect of the truth we represent, it is an end and not merely the means.

We are new converts to western ideals, in other words, the ideals belonging to the scientific view of life and the world. This is great and it is foolish to belittle its importance by wrongly describing it as materialism. For truth is spiritual in its self, and truly materialistic is the mind of the animal which is unscientific and therefore unable to cross the dark screen of appearance, of accidents and reach the deeper region of universal laws. Science means intellectual probity in our dealings with the material world. This consciousness of mind is spiritual, for it never judges its results by the standard of external profits. But in science the oft-used half truth that honesty is the best policy has proved itself to be completely true.

Science being mind's honesty in its relation to the physical universe never fails to bring us the best profit for our living. And mischief finds its entry through this back-door of utility, and Satan has had an ample chance of making use of the divine fruit of knowledge for bringing shame upon humanity. Science as the best policy is tempting the primitive in man bringing out his evil passions through the respectable cover that it has supplied him.

And this is why it is all the more needed to-day that we should have faith in ideals that have been matured in the spiritual field through ages of human endeavour for perfection, the golden crops that have developed in different forms and in different soils but whose food value for man's spirit has the same composition. These are not for the local markets but for universal hospitality, for sharing life's treasure with each other and realising that human civilisation is a spiritual feast the invitation to which is open to all, it is never for the ravenous orgies of carnage where the food and the feeders are being torn to pieces.

The legends of nearly all human races carry man's faith in a golden age which appeared as the introductory chapter in human civilisation. It shows that man has his instinctive belief in the objectivity of spiritual ideals though this cannot be proved. It seems to him that they have already been given to him and that this gift has to be proved through his history of effort against obstacles. The idea of millenium so often laughed at by the clever is treasured as the best asset by man in his mythology as a complete truth realised for ever in some ageless time. Admitting that it is not a scientifical fact we must at the same time know that the instinct cradled and nourished in these primitive stories has its eternal meaning. It is like the instinct of a chick which deemly feels that an infinite world of freedom is already given to it, that it is not a subjective dream but an objective reality, even truer than its life within the egg. If a chick has a rationalistic tendency of mind it ought not to believe in a freedom which is difficult to imagine and contradictory to all its experience, but all the same it cannot help pecking at its shell and ever accepting it as ultimate.

The human soul confined in its limitation has also dreamt of a millenium and striven for an emancipation which seems impossible of attainment, and it has felt its reverence for some great source of inspiration in which all its experience of the true, good and beautiful finds its reality though it cannot be proved, the reality in which our aspiration for freedom in truth, freedom in love, freedom in the unity of man is ideally realised for ever."

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What I have briefly described may be characterised as the routine activities of the University; yet they are of a diverse nature and often present problems which require our closest attention and are not always easy of solution. In addition to these we are continually engaged in considering new measures of reform vitally affecting the future welfare of this province. Such efforts should by no means be regarded as accidental or isolated instances of University activities; they form component parts of a considered plan of future re-organisation, each developing in its appropriate place.

One such problem relates to the new Matriculation Regulations. For the last 14 years this University has striven hard to remodel the Matriculation Examination which may well be described as the basic factor of our educational system. I have no desire to recall here the controversies which the proposal had given rise to. We have now received from Government a definite pronouncement that the new regulations will be sanctioned. The representatives of Government and the University has arrived at an agreement as to the form they will take. The regulations embody several fundamental principles. They recognise the imperative necessity of altering the present courses of study, of widening and including within them matters which are of paramount importance in the training of boys. They recognise the need of physical education and some form of vocational training. They recognise the desirability of providing special alternative subjects and courses of study for girls whose number is now rapidly increasing and whose future education is presenting to the University new and complex problems for solution. Another great task which the University has undertaken is the collection of materials for the systematic preparation of text-books in Bengali in various subjects of study, specially of a scientific character. We have appointed experts who are engaged in collecting words and expressions to be used in text-books on scientific and technical subjects and in finding out the best ways of adapting them for our purposes. We are fully cognisant of the difficulties that lie ahead. We do not want to be carried away by enthusiasm to such an extent as to coin entirely new words in the vernacular and to demand their exclusive employment. We are aware that many technical words and expressions in foreign languages are used throughout the world in the same form, neither can we forget that after the Matriculation stage our students will have to carry on their studies through the medium of English. With a view to maintaining a uniform standard we have appointed a co-ordinating committee consisting of experts on whose judgment the University places full reliance. We have already made a collection of 14,800 expressions which are now being carefully examined. We hope soon to publish this list and invite comments thereon. I visualise the day when in this manner the University will be able to prepare a complete glossary of words in all subjects and for all standards. This will enrich Bengali language and literature and also make it possible for us to take steps for extending the use of the vernacular for the higher examinations of the University.

One of our greatest drawbacks has been insufficient accommodation for the University Library. This University may well congratulate itself on being the possessor of one of the finest libraries in the East. Our regret has hitherto been that we have not been able to allow our students adequate facilities for using the library in a satisfactory manner. One of the steps which the Senate has taken to remove this defect is to complete the fourth storey of the Asutosh Building where the University General Library and the Post-Graduate Lending Library will be located from the next session. The spacious hall facing south will be utilised as the reading room and is expected to accommodate about 350 persons. We have made arrangements for decorating its walls with frescoes, illustrating the development of Indian culture and civilization with special reference to the contributions made by Bengal. I trust that the surroundings and equipments of the hall will inspire both teachers and students to the noblest and most strenuous efforts for the pursuit of knowledge.

We are also engaged in considering the possibility of providing increased accommodation in the University College of Science with a view to enabling our teachers, particularly in the applied sciences, to fulfil satisfactorily the obligations of their offices and to extend the usefulness of the institution. We are no less anxious to concentrate in one place the teaching of subjects like Zoology, Botany, Anthropology, Experimental Psychology and Physiology, now scattered in three different parts of the city. I have every hope that this matter will be taken in hand during the next session, so that by 1933 students of these subjects will have no complaint to make with regard to their work.

During the year under review, the activities of our teachers and advanced students have been such as to deserve the congratulations of all well-wishers of the University. Time will not permit me to dwell at length on the various problems which have

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on behalf of the University and, if I may add, of the educated public of Bengal, I make an earnest appeal to Government to allow us to have the full advantage of our increased income so that we may be in a position to fulfil the great task we have undertaken. In this connection I venture to express the hope that Government and the Legislature will find it possible to restore the entire annual grant of Rs. 1,29,000 sanctioned for many years for the non-Government colleges in Bengal.

I rejoice to find that during the year under review the University has been the recipient of several donations. The total sum received since our last Convocation is Rs. 65,000 of which a sum of Rs. 50,000 has been endowed by Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee. His donation which now comes up to three lacs of rupees is indeed unique in the annals of the University, coming as it does from a member of the teaching profession. A sum of Rs. 10,000 was bequeathed by the late Rai Bahadur Ramcharan Mitra for industrial education. On behalf of the University I gratefully thank the donors, and specially my old teacher, Dr. Mookherjee, and venture to express the hope that these noble examples will be imitated by others who desire to see the University advance from more to more.

I have been so long discussing some of the intellectual activities of the University. I shall now turn for a few moments to the steps which the University should take for the improvement of the health and welfare of our students. As you are aware, we have been attempting to render some service in this direction during recent years. The work of the Students' Welfare department which has won recognition from all quarters has taken two forms. It deals with the investigation of the causes affecting the health of our students by means of examination conducted by our own staff. The materials which we have collected hitherto are as interesting as they are appalling in character. What is education worth if our youths in general are physically weak or unfit, unable to stand the stress and strain of modern life? What is education worth if we cannot turn them into men physically strong and well-equipped as they should be intellectually sane and robust? We have not remained satisfied with a mere examination of their health. We are dealing as well with the preventive and curative side of the problem. This includes not only a cheap though limited supply of medicines, spectacles and similar things but also larger provision for sports, games and scientific physical education. We have been fortunate enough to obtain, through the courtesy of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, a fine plot of land near the Dhakuria Lake. We are going to erect a well-equipped home for the University Rowing Club of which our teachers and students will no doubt take the fullest advantage. One of our pressing needs is a playground for the University. Recently we have made arrangements for sharing the Presidency College grounds in the Maidan for two days in the week. For this co-operation our thanks are due to that college but this is not at all sufficient for our purpose, nor can it meet the demands of about 3,000 students who are directly taught by the University. We are also taking steps for securing a better enrolment for the University Training Corps which, we hold, is capable of considerable improvement and expansion. Again, the *Bratachari* movement which has already attracted the imagination of our young men and women deserves the most careful consideration of the University.

The fine display of organisation and discipline which our students gave in connection with the celebration of the Foundation Day in January last is worthy of all praise and must have shown the most adverse critic what our young men and women are capable of achieving. What they ask for is sympathy and organised co-operation.

What they need to-day is proper direction of their youthful energies into healthy channels which may be worthy of them and of the traditions of the province to which they belong. I have abundant faith in the glory of youth and what I ask from the authorities in the name of the students of Bengal is that they be given a chance to live, an opportunity to enjoy life and the amplest facilities for the development of their health and character, so that in the days to come they may be real assets in the furtherance of the highest interests of our motherland. They want nothing further; they will be satisfied with no less than what students in other countries, more fortunate than ours, are privileged to receive from their Universities or Governments.

I feel that it will be a fortunate day for Bengal when the University can organise a central bureau whose chief aim will be to devise ways and means for the progressive welfare of the student community of Bengal. Its great and important task will be to promote not only the physical well-being of our boys and girls, to assist the needy and the deserving, but also to develop in them a sound moral character; to create men and women who in the home, in the village and in the city, in their influence on Government and local administration and on national policies, will act righteously, fearlessly and for the

on behalf of the University and, if I may add, of the educated public of Bengal, I make an earnest appeal to Government to allow us to have the full advantage of our increased income so that we may be in a position to fulfil the great task we have undertaken. In this connection I venture to express the hope that Government and the Legislature will find it possible to restore the entire annual grant of Rs. 1,29,000 sanctioned for many years for the non-Government colleges in Bengal.

I rejoice to find that during the year under review the University has been the recipient of several donations. The total sum received since our last Convocation is Rs. 65,000 of which a sum of Rs. 50,000 has been endowed by Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee. His donation which now comes up to three lacs of rupees is indeed unique in the annals of the University, coming as it does from a member of the teaching profession. A sum of Rs. 10,000 was bequeathed by the late Rai Bahadur Ramcharan Mitra for industrial education. On behalf of the University I gratefully thank the donors, and specially my old teacher, Dr. Mookherjee, and venture to express the hope that these noble examples will be imitated by others who desire to see the University advance from more to more.

I have been so long discussing some of the intellectual activities of the University. I shall now turn for a few moments to the steps which the University should take for the improvement of the health and welfare of our students. As you are aware, we have been attempting to render some service in this direction during recent years. The work of the Students' Welfare department which has won recognition from all quarters has taken two forms. It deals with the investigation of the causes affecting the health of our students by means of examination conducted by our own staff. The materials which we have collected hitherto are as interesting as they are appalling in character. What is education worth if our youths in general are physically weak or unfit, unable to stand the stress and strain of modern life? What is education worth if we cannot turn them into men physically strong and well-equipped as they should be intellectually sane and robust? We have not remained satisfied with a mere examination of their health. We are dealing as well with the preventive and curative side of the problem. This includes not only a cheap though limited supply of medicines, spectacles and similar things but also larger provision for sports, games and scientific physical education. We have been fortunate enough to obtain, through the courtesy of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, a fine plot of land near the Dhakuria Lake. We are going to erect a well-equipped home for the University Rowing Club of which our teachers and students will no doubt take the fullest advantage. One of our pressing needs is a playground for the University. Recently we have made arrangements for sharing the Presidency College grounds in the Maidan for two days in the week. For this co-operation our thanks are due to that college but this is not at all sufficient for our purpose, nor can it meet the demands of about 3,000 students who are directly taught by the University. We are also taking steps for securing a better enrolment for the University Training Corps which, we hold, is capable of considerable improvement and expansion. Again, the *Bratachari* movement which has already attracted the imagination of our young men and women deserves the most careful consideration of the University.

The fine display of organisation and discipline which our students gave in connection with the celebration of the Foundation Day in January last is worthy of all praise and must have shown the most adverse critic what our young men and women are capable of achieving. What they ask for is sympathy and organised co-operation.

What they need to-day is proper direction of their youthful energies into healthy channels which may be worthy of them and of the traditions of the province to which they belong. I have abundant faith in the glory of youth and what I ask from the authorities in the name of the students of Bengal is that they be given a chance to live, an opportunity to enjoy life and the amplest facilities for the development of their health and character, so that in the days to come they may be real assets in the furtherance of the highest interests of our motherland. They want nothing further; they will be satisfied with no less than what students in other countries, more fortunate than ours, are privileged to receive from their Universities or Governments.

I feel that it will be a fortunate day for Bengal when the University can organise a central bureau whose chief aim will be to devise ways and means for the progressive welfare of the student community of Bengal. Its great and important task will be to promote not only the physical well-being of our boys and girls, to assist the needy and the deserving, but also to develop in them a sound moral character; to create men and women who in the home, in the village and in the city, in their influence on Government and local administration and on national policies, will act righteously, fearlessly and for the

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# A SUMMARY OF THE TEXT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL

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It is described as "A Bill to make further provision for the Government of India to be enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of Lords Spiritual, and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by authority of the same as follows".

The Bill was presented by the Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare, supported by the Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Sir John Simon, the Attorney-General and Mr. R. A. Butler. Besides other matters the Bill includes detailed statutory provisions relating to Federal Railway authority which provides inter alia that any Bill relating to rates and fares shall not be introduced or moved in either Chamber except on the recommendation of the Governor-General.

The Bill provides for the appointment of one person as Governor-General of India and another as His Majesty's Representative as regards relations with Indian States, but makes lawful for His Majesty to appoint one person to fill both the said offices.

The future Government is to be named "Federation of India" after inauguration by King's proclamation.

As regards the Federal Executive, the Bill provides that the Council of Ministers shall not exceed 10 and Ministers' salary shall not be varied during their term of office and that counsellors appointed by the Governor-General shall not exceed three.

Except for the first Financial Adviser, the Governor-General shall consult his Ministers as to the person to be selected as adviser.

The Governor-General shall appoint a person to be Advocate-General for the Federation.

Qualification for membership of Legislature enables a servant of the Crown to become a member, while serving a State. The existing privileges of members of the Legislature are continued and it is definitely laid down that Chambers would have no power to compel attendance of any person or exercise punitive powers beyond those possessed at present.

The annual financial statement would indicate sums, if any, included solely because the Governor-General has directed their inclusion as being necessary for due discharge of any of his special responsibilities.

Power is given to the Governor-General to enact, during the recess of the Legislature, ordinance to end six weeks after the re-Assembly of the Legislature or earlier, if disapproved by both Chambers; secondly to enact ordinance, covering special responsibility, with a maximum life of one year and enact acts, after giving one month's notice to the Legislature to enact the same.

In case of failure of the constitutional machinery, the Governor-General can, by proclamation, assume all powers of Federation, excluding the Federal Court.

## GOVERNOR'S PROVINCES

The Governor's provinces shall be Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, N. W. F. Province, Orissa, Sind and such others as may be created under the Act.

As regards Berar, the Bill says. "Whereas it is in contemplation that an agreement shall be concluded between His Majesty and His Exalted Highness, whereby notwithstanding the continuance of the sovereignty of His Exalted Highness over Berar, the Central Provinces and Berar may be governed together as one Governor's Province, under this Act by name of Central Provinces and Berar. If no such agreement is concluded or if such agreement is concluded, but subsequently ceases to have effect" reference would be construed as reference to Central Provinces, and consequential modifications would be made.

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A special section deals with broad-casting with a view to give certain rights to the Provinces and States.

The Federation shall pay to the Crown expenses incurred in discharging the Crown's functions in relation to the Indian States and contributions at present made by the Indian States to the revenues of India may be given to the Federation but His Majesty retains the right to remit at any time, whole or any part of any such contributions.

#### STATES

His Majesty may, in signifying acceptance of the Instrument of Accession of a State, agree to remit over a period, not exceeding 20 years from the date of Accession, any cash contributions payable by that State. The Federation may, subject to conditions, make loans to or give guarantees in respect of loans raised by any Federated State.

Provision is made for an Auditor-General of India and a Provincial Auditor-General to be appointed by His Majesty.

The Bill empowers His Majesty to constitute an Inter-Provincial Council acting on addresses presented through the Governor-General by legislatures and provision may be made enabling the States' representatives to participate in its work.

The Federal Railway authority will consist of seven members, of whom, three will be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion, and the President of the authority would be also similarly appointed from among the seven members. The Federal Court would consist of the Chief Justice, and six Puisne Judges, holding office till 65 years of age, compared with the 60 years' limit, imposed on High Court Judges.

I. C. S. officials can be appointed as Chief Justices, of the High Court or the Federal Court.

The Bill includes provisions of the existing Government of India Act, with amendments until the establishment of Federation.

#### PROVISIONS OF BILL—ACCESSION OF STATES

The India Bill makes the following provision as regards the accession of Indian States.

(1) A State shall be deemed to have acceded to the Federation (a) if His Majesty has signified his acceptance of the declaration made by the Ruler thereof, whereby this Act is applicable to his State and his subjects, with the intent that His Majesty the King, the Governor-General of India, the Federal Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Federal authority established for the purposes of federation shall exercise, in relation to his State and his subjects, functions as may be vested in them by or under this Act.

(b) Specifies which of the matters mentioned in the Federal Legislative list he accepts as a matter with respect to which the Federal Legislature may make laws for this State and his subjects and specifies any condition to which acceptance of any such matter is to be deemed by subject; (c) assumes obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to this Act within his State.

Provided that the declaration may be made conditionally on the establishment of Federation on or before the specified date and in that case, the State shall not be deemed to have acceded to the Federation, if federation is not established until after that date.

(2) A Ruler may by supplementary declaration made to, and accepted by His Majesty declare his willingness to accept, conditionally or otherwise, any other matter as a matter with respect to which the Federal Legislature may make laws in relation to his State and subject thereof or his willingness, waive, in whole or part, any condition specified in the previous declaration made by him.

(3) A declaration shall not be valid, unless it is a declaration of the Ruler himself, but subject, as aforesaid, references in this Act to the Ruler of the State include references to any persons for the time being, exercising powers of the Ruler of the State, whether by reason of the Ruler's minority or for any other reason.

(4) The validity of any declaration under this Section shall not be affected by any amendment of provisions of this Act, mentioned in the Second Schedule to this Act, but no such amendment shall, in any case, be construed as extending to the Federal State, without the concurrence of the Ruler of that State.

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The Governor of Sind shall also have the special responsibility of securing proper administration of the Sukkur Barrage Scheme.

In so far as any special responsibility of a Governor involved, he shall, in exercise of his functions, exercise his individual judgment as to the action to be taken.

Chapter III of the Bill deals exhaustively with provisions with respect to Discrimination, etc.

(1) Subject to provisions of this Chapter, a British subject domiciled in the United Kingdom, shall be exempt from the operation of so much of any Federal or Provincial law as (a) imposes any restriction on the right of entry into British India or (b) imposes, by reference to the place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile, residence or duration of residence, any liability, restriction or condition in regard to travel, residence, holding of property or public office or carrying on any occupation trade, business or profession. Provided that no person shall, by virtue of this sub-section, be entitled to claim exemption from any such restriction, condition or liability as aforesaid, if any, so long as Indian subjects of His Majesty's domiciled in British India, are, by or under the law of the United Kingdom, be subjected, in the United Kingdom, to similar restriction, condition or liability, imposed in regard to the same subject matter, by reference to the same principle of distinction.

(2) For the purpose of the preceding sub-section, provision whether of law of British India or of law of the United Kingdom, empowering any public authority, to impose quarantine regulations, or to exclude or deport individuals, whenever domiciled, who appear to that authority to be undesirable persons, shall not be needed to be restriction on right of entry.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in this Section, if the Governor-General, or as the case may be, Governor of any province, by public notification, certifies that for the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of any part of India or as the case may be any part of the Province or for the purpose of combating crimes of violence intended to overthrow the Government, it is expedient that the operation of the provisions of sub-section (1) of this Section should be wholly or partially suspended in relation to any law, then, while the notification is in force, the operation of those provisions shall be suspended accordingly. The functions of the Governor-General and of the Governor under this sub-section, shall be exercised by him in his discretion.

No Federal or Provincial law, which imposes any liability to taxation, shall be such as to discriminate against British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom or against Burman subjects of His Majesty domiciled in Burma and any law passed or made in contravention of this Section, shall, to the extent of the contravention, be invalid.

Subject to the following provisions of this Chapter a company incorporated whether before or after the passing of this Act, by or under the laws of the United Kingdom and members of the governing body of any such company and shareholders, officers, agents and servants thereof shall be deemed to comply with so much of any Federal or Provincial law as imposes, in regard to the companies trading in British India, requirements or conditions relating to or connected with (a) the place of incorporation of the company or (b) the place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile or duration of residence of members of the governing body of the company, or of its shareholders, officers, agents or servants. Provided that no company or person shall, by virtue of this Section, be deemed to comply with such requirement or condition as aforesaid, if and so long as a like requirement or condition is imposed by or under the law in the United Kingdom, in regard to companies incorporated by or under the laws of British India and trading in the United Kingdom.

(1) Subject to the following provisions of this Chapter a British subject domiciled in U. K. shall be deemed to comply with so much of any Federal or Provincial law as imposes in regard to companies incorporated whether before or after the passing of this Act, by or under the laws of British India, any requirements or conditions relating to or connected with the place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile, residence or duration of residence of the members of the Governing Body of the company or of its shareholders, officers, agents or servants.

Provided that no person shall by virtue of this section, be deemed to comply with any such requirements or condition as aforesaid if and so long as a like requirement or condition is imposed by, or under, the law of U. K. in regard to the companies incorporated by, or under, the laws of U. K. on the Indian subjects of His Majesty domiciled in British India.

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(2) For the purpose of the preceding sub-section, provision whether of law of British India or of law of the United Kingdom, empowering any public authority, to impose quarantine regulations, or to exclude or deport individuals, whenever domiciled, who appear to that authority to be undesirable persons, shall not be needed to be restriction on right of entry.

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Provided that no person shall by virtue of this section, be deemed to comply with any such requirements or condition as aforesaid if and so long as a like requirement or condition is imposed by, or under, the law of U. K. in regard to the companies incorporated by, or under, the laws of U. K. on the Indian subjects of His Majesty domiciled in British India.

(1) So long as the condition set out in sub-section (3) of the section continues to be fulfilled a British subject domiciled in U. K. or India, who, by virtue of a medical diploma granted to him in U. K. is, or is entitled to be registered in U. K. as a qualified medical practitioner, shall not by or under any law of the Indian legislature or of the Federal or any Provincial legislature be excluded from the practising of medicine or surgery or midwifery in India or any part thereof or from being registered as qualified so to do, on any ground that the diploma held by him does not furnish sufficient guarantee of his possession of the requisite knowledge and skill for the practise of medicine, surgery and midwifery and he shall not be so excluded on that ground unless the law of Federation, or of the province, as the case may be, makes provision for securing ; (a) that no proposal for excluding the holders of any particular diploma from the practice, or registration, shall become operative until the expiration of twelve months after the notice thereof had been given to the Governor-General and to the University or other body granting that diploma and (b) that such a proposal shall not become operative, or, as the case may be, shall cease to operate, if the Privy Council on an application made to them under the next succeeding sub-section, determine that the diploma in question ought to be recognised as furnishing such sufficient guarantee as aforesaid.

(2) If any University or other body in the United Kingdom which grants medical diploma, or any British subject who holds such diploma, is aggrieved by the proposal to exclude the holders of that diploma from practice or registration in India that body or person may make an application to the Privy Council, and the Privy Council, after giving to such authorities and persons, both in India and in U. K. as they think fit, an opportunity of tendering evidence or submitting representations in writing shall determine whether the diploma in question does or does not furnish sufficient guarantee of the possession of requisite knowledge and skill for the practice of medicine, surgery and midwifery and shall notify their determination to Governor-General, who shall communicate it to such authorities and cause it to be published in such a manner as he thinks fit.

(3) The condition referred to in sub-section (1) of this section is that Indian subjects of His Majesty holding medical diploma granted after examination in India shall not be excluded from practising medicine, surgery or midwifery in U. K., or from being registered therein as a qualified medical practitioner, except on the grounds that the diploma does not furnish sufficient guarantee of the possession of the requisite knowledge and skill for the practice of medicine, surgery and midwifery, and shall only be excluded on that ground so long as law of U. K. makes provision for enabling any question as to the sufficiency of that diploma to be referred to, and decided by, the Privy Council.

(4) A medical practitioner entitled to practise or to be registered in India by virtue of the diploma granted in U. K. or in U. K. by virtue of a diploma granted in India shall not, in the practice of his profession, be subjected to any restriction or condition whereto persons entitled to practise by virtue of diplomas granted in other country are not subject.

(5) The foregoing provisions of this section shall, subject to modification herein-after mentioned, apply in relation to the Burman subjects of His Majesty, who by virtue of medical diplomas granted to them in Burma or in U. K., are, or are entitled to be registered in U. K. as qualified medical practitioners as they apply in relation to British subjects domiciled in U. K., who, by virtue of medical diplomas granted in U. K., are or are entitled to be registered in U. K., as qualified medical practitioners. The said modifications are as follows : That is to say, (a) sub-section (3) shall not apply and reference in sub-section (1) to the condition set out therein shall be deemed to be omitted ; (b) any reference in sub-section (2) or sub-section (4) to U. K. shall be construed as a reference to Burma.

(6) Nothing in this section shall be construed as affecting any power of any recognised authority in U. K. or India to suspend or bar any person from practice on the ground of misconduct or to remove any person from the register on that ground.

(7) In this section the expression "diploma" includes any certificate, degree, fellowship or other document or status granted to persons passing examinations.

The person who holds a commission from His Majesty as a medical officer in the Indian Medical Service or any other branch of His Majesty's forces and is on the active list shall, by virtue of that commission, be deemed to be qualified to practise medicine, surgery and midwifery in British India and be entitled to be registered in British India or any part thereof as so qualified.

(1) So long as the condition set out in sub-section (3) of the section continues to be fulfilled a British subject domiciled in U. K. or India, who, by virtue of a medical diploma granted to him in U. K. is, or is entitled to be registered in U. K. as a qualified medical practitioner, shall not by or under any law of the Indian legislature or of the Federal or any Provincial legislature be excluded from the practising of medicine or surgery or midwifery in India or any part thereof or from being registered as qualified so to do, on any ground that the diploma held by him does not furnish sufficient guarantee of his possession of the requisite knowledge and skill for the practise of medicine, surgery and midwifery and he shall not be so excluded on that ground unless the law of Federation, or of the province, as the case may be, makes provision for securing ; (a) that no proposal for excluding the holders of any particular diploma from the practice, or registration, shall become operative until the expiration of twelve months after the notice thereof had been given to the Governor-General and to the University or other body granting that diploma and (b) that such a proposal shall not become operative, or, as the case may be, shall cease to operate, if the Privy Council on an application made to them under the next succeeding sub-section, determine that the diploma in question ought to be recognised as furnishing such sufficient guarantee as aforesaid.

(2) If any University or other body in the United Kingdom which grants medical diploma, or any British subject who holds such diploma, is aggrieved by the proposal to exclude the holders of that diploma from practice or registration in India that body or person may make an application to the Privy Council, and the Privy Council, after giving to such authorities and persons, both in India and in U. K. as they think fit, an opportunity of tendering evidence or submitting representations in writing shall determine whether the diploma in question does or does not furnish sufficient guarantee of the possession of requisite knowledge and skill for the practice of medicine, surgery and midwifery and shall notify their determination to Governor-General, who shall communicate it to such authorities and cause it to be published in such a manner as he thinks fit.

(3) The condition referred to in sub-section (1) of this section is that Indian subjects of His Majesty holding medical diploma granted after examination in India shall not be excluded from practising medicine, surgery or midwifery in U. K., or from being registered therein as a qualified medical practitioner, except on the grounds that the diploma does not furnish sufficient guarantee of the possession of the requisite knowledge and skill for the practice of medicine, surgery and midwifery, and shall only be excluded on that ground so long as law of U. K. makes provision for enabling any question as to the sufficiency of that diploma to be referred to, and decided by, the Privy Council.

(4) A medical practitioner entitled to practise or to be registered in India by virtue of the diploma granted in U. K. or in U. K. by virtue of a diploma granted in India shall not, in the practice of his profession, be subjected to any restriction or condition whereto persons entitled to practise by virtue of diplomas granted in other country are not subject.

(5) The foregoing provisions of this section shall, subject to modification herein-after mentioned, apply in relation to the Burman subjects of His Majesty, who by virtue of medical diplomas granted to them in Burma or in U. K., are, or are entitled to be registered in U. K. as qualified medical practitioners as they apply in relation to British subjects domiciled in U. K., who, by virtue of medical diplomas granted in U. K., are or are entitled to be registered in U. K., as qualified medical practitioners. The said modifications are as follows : That is to say, (a) sub-section (3) shall not apply and reference in sub-section (1) to the condition set out therein shall be deemed to be omitted ; (b) any reference in sub-section (2) or sub-section (4) to U. K. shall be construed as a reference to Burma.

(6) Nothing in this section shall be construed as affecting any power of any recognised authority in U. K. or India to suspend or bar any person from practice on the ground of misconduct or to remove any person from the register on that ground.

(7) In this section the expression "diploma" includes any certificate, degree, fellowship or other document or status granted to persons passing examinations.

The person who holds a commission from His Majesty as a medical officer in the Indian Medical Service or any other branch of His Majesty's forces and is on the active list shall, by virtue of that commission, be deemed to be qualified to practise medicine, surgery and midwifery in British India and be entitled to be registered in British India or any part thereof as so qualified.

The previous sanction of the Governor is required for certain legislative proposals, including those affecting immigration into Burma or procedure for criminal proceedings, wherein European and British subjects are concerned.

It is provided that a British subject, domiciled in the United Kingdom, is exempt from the operation of so much of any law of Burma as imposes any restriction on the right of entry into Burma, provided that no person shall, by virtue of this Section, be entitled to claim exemption if and so long as Burman subjects of His Majesty, domiciled in Burma are, by and under the law of the United Kingdom, subject in the United Kingdom to similar restriction.

Another clause says, "Subject to the provisions of this Chapter, a British subject, domiciled in the United Kingdom, shall be exempt from the operation of so much of any law of Burma as imposed by reference to the place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile, residence or duration of residence, any liability, restriction or condition, in regard to travel, residence, the holding of property or public office or carrying out of any occupation, trade, business or profession. The provisions will apply to Indian subjects of His Majesty, provided nothing shall affect any restriction lawfully imposed on the right of entry into Burma of such Indian subjects of His Majesty as aforesaid or any restriction lawfully imposed as a condition of allowing any such Indian subject to enter Burma.

Similar provisions are made for British and for Indian companies and for reciprocal treatment of ships. It is provided that no law of Burma, which prescribes qualifications to be held by persons practising any profession in Burma, or holding any office or performing any function shall have effect so as to preclude any person who immediately before the passing of this Act was lawfully practising that profession from continuing to practise that profession or holding office.

The executive authority of Burma in respect of Railways will be exercised by the Burma Railway Board, consisting of the President and eight other members. The functions of and the directions to this Board are identically the same as those for the Federal Railway Authority in India.

The constitution of the High Court and the Public Service Commission, and the control by His Majesty as to the Defence appointments are all specified.

The miscellaneous provisions as to the relations with India are as follows:-

Whereas it may appear that the distribution of property and liabilities effected by this Act as between India and Burma may result in an undue burden on the revenues of the Federation out of the revenues of Burma and for charging on the revenues of Burma of such periodical or other sums as may appear to him to be proper with a view to preventing undue disturbance of trade between India and Burma in the period immediately following the separation of India and Burma, and with a view to safeguarding the economic interests of Burma during that period, His Majesty-in-Council may give such directions as he thinks fit for those purposes with respect to the duties which are, while the order is in force, to be levied on goods imported into or exported from India or Burma and with respect to ancillary and related matters.

His Majesty-in-Council may make provision for the grant of relief from any Burman tax on income in respect of the income taxed or taxable by or under the law of the Federation of India.

His Majesty-in-Council may make such provisions with respect to the monetary system of Burma and matters connected therewith and ancillary thereto, as he thinks fit and in particular, but, without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, any provision as may appear to him to be necessary or proper for the purpose of giving effect to any arrangement with respect to the said matter, made before the commencement of this part of this Act with the approval of the Secretary of State by the Governor of Burma-in-Council.

His Majesty-in-Council may direct that during such period as may be specified in the order, immigration into Burma from India will be subject to such regulations as may have been mutually agreed upon before the commencement of this part of this Act between the Governor of Burma-in-Council and the Governor of India in Council and approved by the Secretary of State, in accordance with an arrangement, as may have been prescribed by the Secretary of State and the Governor of India in such a manner as appears to His Majesty necessary to give effect to any arrangement in this behalf, it will be made after the commencement of the part of the Act as the Governor of Burma with a Governor of an Indian province or the Governor General of India in Council.

The previous sanction of the Governor is required for certain legislative proposals, including those affecting immigration into Burma or procedure for criminal proceedings, wherein European and British subjects are concerned.

It is provided that a British subject, domiciled in the United Kingdom, is exempt from the operation of so much of any law of Burma as imposes any restriction on the right of entry into Burma, provided that no person shall, by virtue of this Section, be entitled to claim exemption if and so long as Burman subjects of His Majesty, domiciled in Burma are, by and under the law of the United Kingdom, subject in the United Kingdom to similar restriction.

Another clause says, "Subject to the provisions of this Chapter, a British subject, domiciled in the United Kingdom, shall be exempt from the operation of so much of any law of Burma as imposed by reference to the place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile, residence or duration of residence, any liability, restriction or condition, in regard to travel, residence, the holding of property or public office or carrying out of any occupation, trade, business or profession. The provisions will apply to Indian subjects of His Majesty, provided nothing shall affect any restriction lawfully imposed on the right of entry into Burma of such Indian subjects of His Majesty as aforesaid or any restriction lawfully imposed as a condition of allowing any such Indian subject to enter Burma.

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His Majesty-in-Council may make provision for the grant of relief from any Burman tax on income in respect of the income taxed or taxable by or under the law of the Federation of India.

His Majesty-in-Council may make such provisions with respect to the monetary system of Burma and matters connected therewith and ancillary thereto, as he thinks fit and in particular, but, without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, any provision as may appear to him to be necessary or proper for the purpose of giving effect to any arrangement with respect to the said matter, made before the commencement of this part of this Act with the approval of the Secretary of State by the Governor of Burma-in-Council.

His Majesty-in-Council may direct that during such period as may be specified in the order, immigration into Burma from India will be subject to such restrictions as may have been mutually agreed upon before the commencement of this part of this Act between the Governor of Burma-in-Council and the Secretary of State of India in Council and approved by the Secretary of State in accordance with an agreement, as may have been prescribed by the Secretary of State and the Governor of Burma. Provided that any such order may be varied by a subsequent order in the same manner as appears to His Majesty necessary to give effect to any arrangement in this behalf, it will be made after the commencement of this part of this Act by the Governor of Burma with a Governor of an Indian province or the Governor General of India in Council.

The consequence of this Bill will, therefore, be that the federal executive and each provincial executive will by direct delegation from the Crown exercise independently on behalf of the King the powers respectively vested in them by this Bill, subject to the superintendence by the Secretary of State over the Governor-General and Governors in certain directions referred to below.

7. The entry of states into the Federation is dealt with in clause 6 and other provisions of the Bill of which the effect is that while states which accede to the Federation will accept the whole Act the extent of powers exercisable in relation to any federated states by the federal executive and legislature will be governed by the Rulers' Instrument of Accession which will specify matters in legislative lists which he accepts as federal matters in relation to his state. It is proposed that immediately after the Bill has been passed the Crown should enter into negotiations with the states for the conclusion of their accession to the Federation. The extent to which each ruler is proposing to accede will be brought to the knowledge of Parliament, before Parliament by affirmative resolutions of both Houses invite his Majesty to issue a proclamation inaugurating the Federation.

8. The legislative powers conferred upon the Federation and the provinces respectively, are statutorily defined by part V of the Bill read with and connected with the seventh schedule. The distribution of financial resource is effected in part through legislative powers and in parts through the provisions of part VII.

9. Executive authority will be exercised in the Federation by the Governor-General and in the provinces by the Governor, but the Governor-General and each Governor will have to aid and advise him in exercise of this authority by a Council of Ministers. In this connection it is important that the meaning and effect of higher two technical terms used throughout the Bill should be clearly understood. The duty of Ministers is described in the Bill as being that of aiding and advising the Governor General (or the Governor) in exercise of his functions except in so far as he is by or under this Act required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion. Other provisions of the Bill require the Governor-General to exercise in his discretion his functions with regard to three departments which it is proposed to reserve for his own control (the departments of External Affairs) and various other specific powers conferred upon the Governor-General and upon the Governors by the Bill are described as being the powers, the exercise of which is in their discretion.

10. The result is that in regard to any power or function so described Ministers have no constitutional right to tender advice but in regard to every matter not described as being exercisable by the Governor-General (or the Governor) in his discretion the right to advise i. e., to initiate proposals rests with the Ministers. The second technical term used in this connection throughout the Bill is the phrase 'exercise his individual judgment'. This phrase, which is applicable to matters within the purview of Ministers means that the Governor-General (or a Governor) after considering the advice of Ministers is free to direct such action as he thinks fit, that is to say, not necessarily to accept the advice tendered to him. This course is open to the Governor-General (or a Governor) (a) whenever any of the special responsibilities enumerated in clause 12 (52) of the Bill is, in his opinion, involved and (b) whenever any of the powers conferred upon him by the Act specifically require him in their exercise to exercise his individual judgment whenever the Governor-General or a Governor is acting in his discretion or exercising his individual judgment he is subject to the superintendence of the Secretary of State (clauses 14 and 54).

Full directions will be given to the Governor-General and Governors by an Instrument of Instructions to be issued with the approval of Parliament by the Crown. The document, though it cannot, of course, confer powers which are not to be found in the Act, will regulate the use of the powers conferred by the Act and though the Instrument will cover many other matters the directions on the point just described as to their relations with Ministers will be of fundamental importance. Among the more important of other matters with which it is contemplated that the Instrument of Instructions should deal are the consultation between the Governor-General, counsellors and his Ministers in the day-to-day working of the federal executive, an explanation of the line which it is intended that the Governor-General and Governors should follow in the interpretation and application of their special responsibilities. The Instrument will also indicate the nature of the rights of the Indian states which require protection and the line to be followed by the Governor-General in giving his previous sanction to certain kinds of legislation (an important instance of this category is certain financial legislation) and in particular legislation affecting a federal surcharge on income-

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